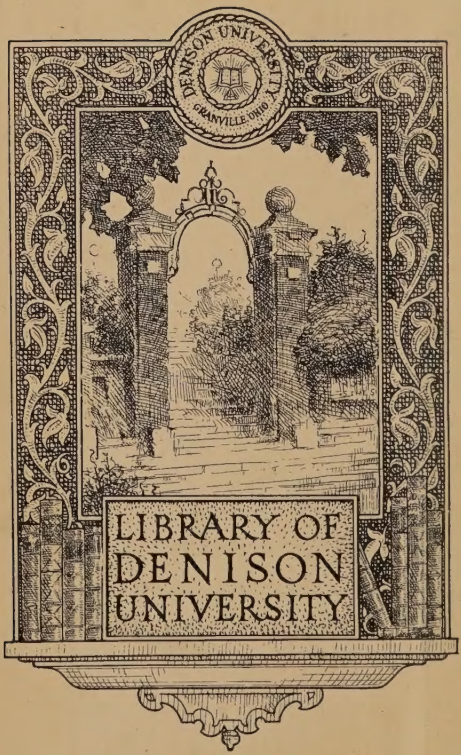
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SOURCE PROBLEMS
ON THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION

BY

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AND

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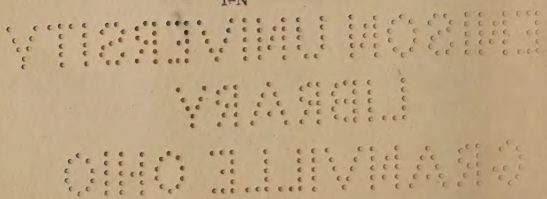

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PREFACE

THE evolution of history teaching from the stage characterized by the memorizing of a text to that distinguished by a critical study of evidence forms one of the most interesting chapters of the pedagogic history of the past twenty-five years. The steps in this evolution were: (1) The addition of "library work," collateral reading in secondary histories; (2) the preparation of a topic based upon secondary works; (3) the use of the sources as collateral reading; (4) the interpretation of documents and narrative sources, little or no attention being paid to criticism, namely, to localization, evaluation, independence, and the establishment of the fact by the agreement of two or more independent affirmations. A single source was sufficient, the main purpose in dealing with narrative sources was to get the contemporary color and sentiment; (5) preparation of a paper based indiscriminately upon sources and secondary works, no attempt being made to distinguish the two classes of material or to use the sources critically; (6) finally, a study based upon a collection of sources, dealing with a limited topic

and containing two or more affirmations by independent witnesses to the same fact. Here for the first time history teaching had reached a scientific basis. The use of collateral secondary reading, although tending to break up the practice of memorizing and to give a fuller knowledge of the topic studied, supplied neither the material nor the method for scientific historical training. Later, the reading of the sources supplied the material; but, as they were not studied intensively and critically, nor more than one source used for the same fact, the indispensable method was still lacking. Nor could the preparation of a paper, even when based upon sources and secondary works, yield that discipline so long as the primary importance of the sources and the fundamental character of source criticism were not understood or were not made a vital part of historical instruction. Up to the present time the chief aim—practically the only aim—of the instructor has been to interest the pupil and to aid him in obtaining historical information. This certainly is important, always will be important, but it cannot be the sole aim of history teaching. Should not an educated man or woman know something of the *process* by which historical truth is distinguished from fable or falsehood? Should they not understand something of the logic that underlies *historical synthesis* and justifies a synthesis in history different from that in the natural sciences? Should

they not know that *history, unique* evolution, cannot repeat itself, and that *historical laws*—the terms are contradictory, law implying repetition—are *impossible?* There are cogent reasons, it has long seemed to me, for answering all of these questions in the affirmative.

How, then, shall these things be taught? By putting into the hands of the pupil a collection of sources, dealing with a limited topic, containing parallel accounts of the same facts and making this material the basis for classroom instruction in historical method. These studies should take the place of the semester's paper; they will do what the semester's paper, as now written, cannot do—namely, acquaint the pupil in a practical way with the critical historical process and awaken and develop the critical faculty. It is laboratory work in history, and has the same justification as laboratory work in the natural sciences. The justification of laboratory work in the natural sciences is not found in the amount of information acquired, but in the training in the process by which we attain to truth. The same justification is found for the study of mathematics. It will hardly be maintained that the justification for teaching the historical process is not as great, even greater, than for teaching the processes in natural science. Every day and every hour we are all of us called upon to pass upon the truth or falsity of historical facts and to act upon

our judgments. We use the process, but we use it *unconsciously* and to little purpose. To those who recall the notorious Dr. Cook and the extent to which he fooled a credulous public, even an *educated* public, nothing more need be said of the necessity of training our boys and girls in the method of historical proof.

But, it has been objected, the process cannot be taught to boys and girls of high-school age or even of college age; it should be reserved for the graduate school. "The proof of the pudding is the eating." The thing can be done, because it has been done. The work may even begin in the grammar school. It may begin just as soon as the boy or girl is desirous of knowing "if it is true" and "how do we know that it is true." That is, it may be begun if we know how to begin it. The great obstacle to-day to the improving of history teaching is that the most of the teachers—even some of the college teachers—are not acquainted with the method and do not know how to teach it. What would we think of a science teacher who could not prove by experiment that water is composed of two gases, hydrogen and oxygen, in the proportion of two to one? How many history teachers could prove any of the thousands of facts taught each day in the classroom? Why should this ignorance be tolerated in the one case and not in the other? If the teacher is capable of teaching the method, of adapting it to the different

stages of mental growth in the classes taught, there will be no lack of interest nor ability to apply it noticeable among the pupils.

In my own work I have given one classroom hour a week out of three to intensive work. The members of the class give two hours each week to preparation, and the work is examined each week. In the Appendix will be found a brief outline of historical method, and an illustration of its application. It is a reproduction of a pamphlet I put into the hands of my class. In an opening exercise I explain the outline to them, and they are afterward quizzed upon it. The subject matter of the topical study is then taken up and the problem set for them. In chronological order, what is the first group of facts to be determined? How many of the sources contain any information upon these facts, and what is this information? These questions being answered in writing, the next questions are "What is the value of these sources" and "Are they independent?" The class exercise is devoted to the explanation of the illustration of criticism found in the Appendix, and the class is requested to work it over. Then follows the assignment of the other sources, one or more—depending on difficulty—being assigned for an exercise. Each source is criticized independently, and then an exercise is devoted to the study of independence. After the criticism of the sources and the study of their relationship the pupil is in a

position to compare the different affirmations and to establish the facts. The affirmations treating of the same fact are brought together on the same page, compared, and a conclusion reached as to whether the evidence gives certainty or probability, and the conclusion is written down. When the facts for the first topic have been established, the class is given a talk on synthesis and required to outline the data they have secured, inserting references in the margin. The outline completed, the writing of the narrative and notes is explained and illustrated and the instructions are utilized in writing a narrative based on the outline. The class is taught how to make the narrative reflect the quantity and quality of the sources.

Very important indirect benefits are derived from this training: (1) The pupil is taught that knowledge grows and certainty is attained through question and answer, and that the questioning must go on until no more questions can be asked or answered; (2) the application of this theory develops scientific skepticism and plays havoc with credulity. The pupil demands proof and begins to understand what the word means; (3) he learns how difficult it is to arrive at certainty and he becomes conscious and cautious in his own affirmations; (4) a high standard is set in the organization of knowledge and in the careful formulation of it, that the statement may correspond to the evidence; (5) finally, the practical

training in historical proof supplies the pupil with the means of distinguishing between good and bad, scientific and popular secondary works. One who has had a good, stiff course in historical proof will have no great difficulty in evaluating correctly the life of Napoleon by Watson and the same life written by Fournier.

The intensive critical study does not in any sense render antiquated the short narrative text, collateral readings in secondary works and sources, or the use of any other scholarly means of acquiring knowledge of historical data; it makes it possible to use them more safely and more effectively.

The translation of the sources fell, as usual, to Mrs. Fling. The shortness of the time allowed for the completion of the work did not permit her, unfortunately, to extend her collaboration to the sources of the last problem. The acknowledgment of her important share in the preparation of the volume is a most grateful task and a fitting close to this preface.

Fred Morrow Fling.

The University of Nebraska,
May 25, 1913.

PROBLEM I

I.—The Oath of the Tennis Court

PARALLEL SOURCE PROBLEMS ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The Oath of the Tennis Court

A. THE HISTORIC SETTING OF THE PROBLEM

THE French Revolution may be characterized in a general way as a struggle against arbitrary government and privilege. As a revolt against arbitrary government, it united all classes in France against the absolute monarchy; as an attack upon privileges, it divided France into two hostile camps—the clergy and nobility, on the one hand, the rest of the nation on the other. Class rivalry did not manifest itself until the united attack of the three orders had forced Louis XVI. to summon the states general.

The parliament of Paris was the leader of the revolt against arbitrary government. The peculiar right it possessed of remonstrating against the inscription upon its register of royal edicts in reality associated it with the king in the work of legislation. The practice of the parliament of amending, and even of vetoing, the royal edicts presented to it was looked upon by the king and his ministers as an encroachment upon royal authority; the king was supposed to be the sole legislator. The parlia-

ment refused to subscribe to this political dogma, and, although in no sense a representative body, it aspired to play the rôle of the English parliament, and to limit the power of the crown in the interest of the aristocracy. In June, 1787, posing as a defender of the interests of the common people, it resisted an increase of taxes and refused to register new tax edicts until it had been convinced by a statement of receipts and expenses that it was impossible for the government to escape from the financial straits in which it found itself by a resort to thorough economy. When the government insisted, and its need was evident, the parliament avoided registration and increased taxes by declaring that the states general, composed of the representatives of all France, alone had the right to grant new taxes, and the king was invited to call that body together. The king had no desire to convoke the states general, fearing a limitation of his power; the parliament, it would appear, used the idea of a convocation of the states general as a means of escaping the necessity of registering tax edicts which would have diminished their own revenues. If the parliament really desired the calling of the estates, it was in the old form which would have enabled them to play a leading rôle in the assembly, and to increase the authority of the privileged classes at the expense of the monarchy. The king enforced the registration of the tax edicts in a *lit de justice*, but the parliament refused to recognize this act as legal and the whole parliament was exiled to Troyes. This did not give permanent relief to the royal treasury, and a compromise was effected, the parliament agreeing to the continuance of a tax which was about to expire, and the king consenting to recall the new tax edicts. This gave the king breathing space and enabled him to enter into negotiations with some of the members of the parliament for the

registration of a large loan, to extend over several years, which would enable the government to put its house in order. In return for the favor of registration the ministry evidently promised to call the states general. In the royal session held for the registration of the loans the government presented a program which contained no satisfactory statement touching the meeting of the states general. Some of the members of the parliament appealed to the king to set an early date for the estates, but he made no response, and the session ended with the registration of the edicts according to the forms of a *lit de justice*. The parliament protested, and some of its members were exiled or imprisoned.

This was in November, 1787. The parliament had stirred up the nation by its call for the states general, but it showed no desire to press the matter. There was strife between the king and the parliament from November, 1787, to August, 1788; but the point at issue was not the calling of the estates. The parliament presented petition after petition to the king asking the release of its members and protesting against the use of *lettres de cachet*. The king did not yield; he even prepared to escape from the tutelage of the parliaments by reorganizing them and depriving them of the right to register edicts. This power was to be placed in the hands of a body called the *cour plénière* the members of which were to be appointed by the king. The reorganization of the parliament was coupled with an excellent program of judicial reform. In May, 1788, the government held *lits de justice* in all the parliaments of the kingdom for the purpose of registering the reform edicts. The resistance of all classes was so pronounced—the parliaments being looked upon as the last bulwark against despotism—that, although the registration was effected, the reform of the courts was not

successfully carried out, nor did the *cour plénière* ever become active. In the summer of 1788 it was clear to keen observers that France was in the midst of a crisis, and that the convocation of the estates, demanded by all classes, could not be avoided. The treasury was almost empty, credit was declining, and the minister of finance, by an unwise measure, precipitated a financial crisis. The king yielded to the inevitable by promising the estates for May, 1789.

With the definite promise of a national assembly for 1789, the struggle against arbitrary power had ended in a great victory; it was said that by yielding to this demand the king had abdicated. But who was to profit by the victory? The organization of the estates would be the answer to that question. France could be reformed, privileges abolished only in a single assembly governed by majority rule, an assembly in which the third estate had a representation equal at least to that of the clergy and nobility combined. The questions of the double representation for the third estate and the vote by head, instead of by order, divided France into two hostile camps. They were discussed in the press with ever-growing bitterness, and in some of the provinces the parties even came to blows. What attitude would the government take toward the questions? Necker had been recalled, but showed no inclination to lose his popularity with one group by deciding in favor of its opponents. He hoped to save himself by throwing the responsibility of making a decision upon some one else. The edicts of May were withdrawn, the parliaments recalled in September, and the edict summoning the estates in 1789 was laid before the parliament of Paris for registration. In transcribing it upon its registers the parliament declared itself in favor of estates organized in the form of 1614—

that is to say, it opposed double representation for the third estate and vote by head. The other parliaments of France took the same view. Their popularity vanished as if by magic.

The form of 1614 was not satisfactory to Necker. He hoped for a compromise between the views of the third estate and of the two other orders. The estates, he believed, should be made up of representatives of the three orders, with double representation for the third estate. In dealing with questions of finance and of general interest the representatives should sit in a single assembly and the majority should rule; in other cases there should be three assemblies, and each should have the power to veto the acts of the others. Hoping to get support for this view, he summoned, in November, 1788, the old assembly of the nobles called into existence the preceding year by Calonne. The assembly sat for several weeks, and finally decided against double representation and vote by head. Before, however, this decision had been reached the parliament of Paris had attempted to regain its popularity by interpreting its action of September. It declared that the number of representatives of the different orders had never been definitely fixed, and even if double representation were granted to the third estate the constitution would not be changed so long as the three estates sat in different halls and each possessed the veto power. That the double representation without the single assembly was valueless and harmless was understood by the leaders of the third estate from the very outset. The parliament gained nothing by its action. It was asserted that the action of the parliament was due to the influence of Necker, trying to find support in some group for the course he had decided to follow. December 27, 1788, the king in council, on the recommendation

of Necker, declared in favor of double representation for the third estate, but left the question of vote by head in suspense. The first bitter struggle of the revolution was to center around this important question.

In the instructions given to the representatives to the estates by their constituents it is easy to see how clearly the deep significance of the issue was understood; a single assembly meant the reformation of France, three assemblies the preservation of the *ancien régime*. The great mass of the deputies of the third estate were instructed to sit only in a single assembly and vote by head; the great majority of the clergy and nobility were instructed not to sit in a single assembly and not to vote by head. At the opening of the estates on May 5, 1789, neither the king nor his two ministers—one of them Necker—uttered anything definite on the vexed question. Even in the matter of the verification of the credentials of the deputies the government took no action, leaving the whole problem to the deputies themselves. It proved to be an apple of discord.

For more than five weeks the question of how shall the credentials of the estates be verified occupied the attention of France. Why did the discord break out over a matter so trivial in appearance? Both parties, those favoring a single assembly and those advocating the old form with three, looked upon the form of verification as fundamentally important; the settlement of that question might at the same time dispose of the larger question lying back of it. Verification of all the credentials in a single assembly would be a victory for the third estate, and would create a precedent in favor of a permanent single legislative body. If the deputies once sat together in a single hall, it was feared they could not be separated again into three chambers. The question of

the verification of credentials, then, meant a preliminary skirmish for position, which might decide the fate of the great battle. The nobility verified its own credentials and organized as a separate body, a chamber of the estates; the clergy began to verify its credentials, but when it learned that the third estate was doing nothing, showed a readiness to negotiate; the third estate did not organize, but waited for the other orders to join them for common verification, even invited them informally to do so. The clergy replied by proposing the appointment of a committee composed of members of the three orders to consider in a conference the matter in dispute. This proposition was finally accepted by both the other orders, although there was little possibility of any good coming from such discussions. The nobility entered the conference insisting that they were organized as an independent chamber; and the commons, as the third estate called themselves, instructed their delegates to discuss nothing but the verification of credentials. The discussion in the conferences, conducted chiefly by the nobility and commons, was fruitless. Both sides realized the greatness of the interests at stake, and would make no concessions. The conferences ended, and the commons appealed to the clergy, "in the name of the God of peace," to bring their credentials into the common hall. The majority of the clergy would doubtless have accepted this invitation had not the king been induced to interfere and to ask for a renewal of the conferences in the presence of his ministers. The conferences were renewed, and after several meetings, in which the nobility and the commons repeated their old arguments, Necker presented a plan for verification which recognized the existence of the separate chambers and paved the way for the adoption of his plan of general and separate assemblies. The plan

was accepted by the clergy, but such restrictions were made by the nobility that it was practically nullified. The commons took advantage of this situation to escape the necessity of expressing their opinion. The plan never had any chance of success and was never debated.

For several days before the second series of conferences closed it was evident that the commons were preparing to act. They introduced enough organization into their assembly to make it possible for them to act as a deliberative body. On June 10th they voted to summon the clergy and the nobility to bring their credentials at once into the common hall for verification, and announced their intention of proceeding with the verification if the other deputies did not appear. The summons was delivered on the twelfth—the eleventh being a holiday—and in the afternoon of the same day the roll call of deputies began in the general hall. The names of the clergy and nobility were read, and when they failed to respond they were treated as absent. On the morning of June 15th the roll call had been finished, the credentials had been examined and favorably reported upon.

The next question for the commons to consider was what they should call themselves? Were they the *states general?* That could hardly be true in the absence of the other two estates. Some expression must be found that would enable the commons to organize as the *majority* of the deputies representing the nation, but which at the same time would be elastic enough to embrace the deputies of the other two orders when they finally joined the third estate. Several such titles were proposed, and for two days, in the presence of crowded galleries, the commons engaged in one of the most important debates of the early revolution. The title *national assembly* was proposed, but attracted little attention at the outset.

When Sieyès, who had advocated a more conservative title, adopted the shorter and more revolutionary one, its success was assured. On the morning of June 17th the commons declared themselves the national assembly. It was the first revolutionary step. It was a declaration of the existence of a single assembly, made up of the representatives of the French people, without distinction of order, having the right to make a constitution for France, and recognizing the existence of no veto power between it and the king. If this act were allowed to go unchallenged, the old constitution, with its political and civil inequalities, was doomed. The representatives of the middle class would sweep away the *ancien régime* and create a new France.

The king could not look with unconcern upon this bold act of the commons. The assumption of the power to make a constitution threatened not only the privileges of the clergy and nobility, but his own unrestricted authority. In the presence of a common danger the monarchy and the privileged classes drew near to each other. Urged on by the court, the parliaments, the clergy, and the nobility, the ministry decided to abandon its policy of inaction, to gather up the reins which were slipping from its grasp, and to save the old constitution. A royal session of the estates should be held, and the king should announce his wishes. But what were these wishes? Should Louis XVI. place himself at the head of the commons and become the king of the revolution? Should he annul the action of the commons and defend the *ancien régime* as a whole? Or, while annulling the action of June 17th, should he propose a reform program, representing the policy of his reign previous to the meeting of the estates? The plan proposed by Necker was opposed by some of the ministers. On the same day that Necker presented

his plan the majority of the clergy voted to verify their credentials in common with the third estate. Unless something were done, the union of the clergy with the commons would take place the next day, and a situation would be created far more difficult for the government to deal with than that resulting from the vote of June 17th. The ministers decided to prevent the union by closing the hall and suspending the estates until the royal session of June 22d. This action on the part of the government led the commons, on June 20th, to take the famous "Oath of the Tennis Court."

B. CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Procès-verbal de l'assemblée nationale.* Paris, 1789. This is the official minutes of the assembly, written by the secretaries of the assembly, read before the assembly for correction, and printed by the official printer. The official manuscript account from which the printed account was taken is in the national archives in Paris. It is in the handwriting of Camus.

2. *Le point du jour.* This was a daily edited by Barère, a member of the third estate. It contained nothing but an account of the debates of the assembly, an account without comment, full of detail, and remarkably free from prejudice. Barère was born in 1755, was a practising lawyer at the bar of Bordeaux before 1789, and was elected deputy to the national assembly from Bigorre.

3. *L'assemblée nationale.* This paper was a daily written by Lehodey, a professional journalist. Its name changed several times, the first numbers bearing the title of the *États-généraux.* It contained little but the debates of the assembly. The accounts of the debates were full,

but there was considerable comment, and it was not difficult to tell what the sentiments of Lehodey were.

4. Bailly, *Mémoires*, 3 vols., Paris, 1804. Bailly was born in Paris in 1736. He was already celebrated as an astronomer and a member of the three French academies when he was elected to the states general by the third estate of Paris. He was president of the national assembly on June 20th. His *Mémoires*, describing the events of 1789, were written in 1792, between January and June, while he was residing at his country place near Nantes. The original manuscript, in Bailly's handwriting, is in the library of the chamber of deputies in Paris.

5. Duquesnoy, *Journal*, 2 vols., Paris, 1894. This work is not a journal, but a series of letters, or bulletins, written by Duquesnoy to his constituents. Duquesnoy, born in 1759, represented the third estate of Bar-le-Duc. The manuscript from which the two volumes were printed—now in the manuscript section of the national library in Paris—was not in the handwriting of Duquesnoy, but there is sufficient internal evidence to prove conclusively that he was the author of the bulletins.

6. Young, Arthur, *Travels in France*, fourth edition, London, 1892. Arthur Young, the English agriculturist, born in 1741, made three journeys across France, the last in 1789. In June, 1789, he was in Paris, watching the revolution with the deepest interest and making notes in his journal. He was a well-informed man, used the French language well, and was in social touch with all the distinguished Frenchmen of his day.

7. Mounier, *Recherches sur les causes qui ont empêché les Français de devenir libres*, 2 vols., Geneva, 1792. Mounier was a member of the third estate from Dauphiné. He was born at Grenoble in 1758, was an advocate at the bar of his native city, and later a judge royal. He had

been a leader in the revolution in the Dauphiné in 1788. His pamphlets on the organization of the states general made him famous throughout France. When the assembly followed the king to Paris in October, Mounier, feeling that the assembly had gone too far in depriving the king of his power, retired to Dauphiné and tried to call the provincial estates together to protest against the action of the national assembly. When this action was prohibited by the assembly, he left France for Switzerland, and there wrote the work from which the extract was taken. It was a description and criticism of the revolution up to the time of writing. In June, 1789, he was one of the most prominent men of the third estate at Versailles.

8. Malouet, *Mémoires*, 2 vols., Paris, 1868. Malouet was born in 1740, and had passed the most of his life in the government service. He was intendant of marine in 1788. In 1789 he was elected to the national assembly by the third estate of Riom. He was a conservative, and on account of his position as a government official was suspected of acting in the interest of the ministry, and was distrusted by the liberal members of the assembly. Malouet wrote his *Mémoires* in 1808, six years before his death.

9. Biauzat, *Vie et correspondance*, 2 vols., Paris, 1890. Gaultier de Biauzat was born in 1739. He was a member of the bar of Clermont-Ferrand, and in 1789 was elected to the states general by the third estate of Clermont. While in Versailles he wrote letters to his constituents. The originals are found in the library of Clermont.

10. Rabaut, *Précis historique de la révolution française*, Paris, 1813. Rabaut de Saint-Étienne was born in 1743. A protestant pastor, leader of the French protestants, he was elected to the states general by the third

estate of Nimes. His *Précis* was written in the latter part of 1791.

11. Dorset, *Despatches from Paris*, 2 vols., London, 1909, 1910. Dorset was the English ambassador to France in 1789. The original despatches from which this collection was made are found in the Record Office in London.

12. Bailli de Virieu, *Correspondance*, Paris, 1903. The Bailli de Virieu was the minister of Parma to the court of Versailles. The original of the letters, written in Italian, to his home government, are found in the archives of Parma. They are among the most valuable of the correspondence of the foreign ministers at that time in Paris. The Marquis de Virieu, in 1884, copied the Italian letters in the archives of Parma and made a French translation of them. The English text in the extract given below is, then, a translation of a French translation of an Italian original.

C. QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. How many of the writers of the sources contained in this study were eye-witnesses of the events they described?
2. How many of the sources describing the events of June 20th at Versailles are independent?
3. Upon what sources are the dependent ones dependent?
4. Are all the sources in this study, written by eye-witnesses, equally valuable? Give the reasons for thinking some less valuable than others.
5. Some eye-witnesses reproduce the accounts of other eye-witnesses, thus placing their stamp of approval upon them. Does that increase the value of these accounts? Cite cases and give reasons.
6. Prove that there were two sessions of the national assembly on June 20th.

7. When and where was the *Procès-verbal* of the first session written?
8. Why did not the first *Procès-verbal* contain copies of the letters which passed between Bailly and De Brézé?
9. For what hour had the opening of the session of the twentieth been fixed?
10. At what hour did it open?
11. At what time did the deputies begin to gather at the hall?
12. At what hour did the heralds announce the suspension of the session? What two forms did this announcement take?
13. How long was Bailly in conference with the secretaries? What inference would you draw from this?
14. What did Bailly mean by saying he had "received no order from the king," when he had just received orders from the grand master of ceremonies?
15. Why did Bailly not answer the second letter of De Brézé?
16. Where was the first session of the twentieth held, how long did it last, and what was done in the session?
17. Why was the situation in the avenue before the hall a serious one on the morning of the twentieth between nine and ten o'clock?
18. Why were the members of the assembly so disturbed over the closing of their hall?
19. Why did they take an oath?
20. What was the significance of the oath?
21. Why did the members take the oath orally and also sign their names to documents upon which the oath had been transcribed?
22. Why were the deputies so indignant at the action of Martin d'Auch?
23. Is the *Assemblée nationale* right in saying that Guilhermy retired without signing?
24. What proof do you find in the sources that the deputies and the crowd were very desirous of retaining the good will of the king?

25. How do you reconcile such an attitude with the taking of the oath?
26. Why did the session of June 20th last so long?
27. What other action on June 20th proves that the assembly intended to defend its decree of June 20th even against the king?
28. What did contemporaries think of the action of June 20th and its probable consequences?
29. Was the "Oath of the Tennis Court" really a very important act in the history of the revolution?
30. Establish the facts for June 20th, make a synthesis, citing the proof, and write a narrative with notes.

D. The Sources

1. *Procès-verbal de l'assemblée nationale, No. 3, Saturday, June 20, 1789.*

At nine o'clock in the morning, the hour indicated for the session of the national assembly,[1] the president and the two secretaries presented themselves at the door of the principal entrance; they found it guarded by soldiers and saw a large number of deputies who could not enter. The president asked for the officer of the guard. The Comte de Vassan presented himself and said he had been ordered to prevent any one from entering the hall on account of preparations which were being made for a royal session. The president told him that he protested against the obstacles put in the way of holding the session fixed yesterday for this hour, and he declared it open. The Comte de Vassan having added that he was authorized to allow the officers of the assembly to enter to get the papers they might need, the president and the

[1] At the close of the *Procès-verbal*, No. 2, is the statement, "The president adjourned the session until to-morrow at eight o'clock instead of nine." Nine was the regular hour.

secretaries entered and saw in truth that the most of the benches in the hall had been removed, and that all the passageways were guarded by a large number of soldiers. They noticed in the court and on the outside door several placards conceived in these terms:

"THE STATES GENERAL. BY ORDER OF THE KING

"The king having resolved to hold a royal session of the states general on Monday the 22d of June, the preparations to be made in the three halls which serve for the meetings of the orders make it necessary to suspend these meetings until after the holding of the said session. His Majesty will make known by a fresh proclamation the hour at which on Monday he will betake himself to the assembly of the estates. Versailles, at the Royal Printing-house, 1789."

The president and the two secretaries having gone out, they betook themselves to the tennis court in Tennis Court Street, where the members of the assembly successively gathered. Signed: Bailly, President; Camus, Secretary; Pison du Galland, Jr., Secretary.

On the same day at half past ten in the morning, in the hall of the tennis court, street of the Tennis Court, the assembly being complete, the president

gave an account of two letters which he had received this morning from the Marquis de Brézé, grand master of ceremonies. The first is of the following tenor:

"*Versailles, June 20, 1789.*

"The King having ordered me, Sir, to make public by heralds his intention to hold on Monday the twenty-second of this month a royal session, and at the same time his purpose to suspend the assemblies, which the preparations to be made in the three halls of the orders render necessary, I have the honor to inform you of it. I am with respect, Sir, your very humble and very obedient servant, the Marquis de Brézé.

"P. S.—I believe it would be well, Sir, if you would charge the secretaries with the responsibility of gathering up the papers for fear they might be lost. Would you also, Sir, have the kindness to have the names of the secretaries sent to me, that I may give instructions permitting them to enter, the necessity of not interrupting the task of the workmen, who have no time to spare, not making it possible to admit everybody to the halls."

The president said he had replied to this letter in the following terms:

"I have not yet received any order from the King, Sir, for the royal session, nor for the suspension of the assemblies; and it is my duty to go to the

one I set for this morning at eight o'clock. I am," etc.

In reply to this letter, the Marquis de Brézé wrote him the second, the tenor of which is as follows:

"*Versailles, June 20, 1789.*

"It was by positive orders of the King that I had the honor to write to you this morning, Sir, and to inform you that His Majesty, wishing to hold a royal session on Monday, which calls for preparations in the three assembly halls of the orders, his intention was that no one shall be allowed to enter there, that the sessions should be suspended until after the one His Majesty will hold. I am with respect, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant, the Marquis de Brézé."

After the reading of these letters the president gave an account of the facts recorded in the minutes of this day and had the minutes read.

The assembly, having deliberated, passed the following decree by a unanimous vote, lacking one:

"The national assembly, considering itself called to establish the constitution of the kingdom, to work for the regeneration of public order, and to maintain the true principles of the monarchy, cannot be prevented in any way from continuing its deliberations, in whatever place it may be forced to establish it-

self, and, finally, wherever its members are gathered, there is the national assembly;

"Resolves that all the members of this assembly immediately take a solemn oath never to separate, and to reassemble wherever circumstances require, until the constitution of the kingdom shall be established and fixed on solid foundations; and that, the said oath being taken, all the members and each one of them in particular shall confirm by their signatures this unshakable resolution."

The decree having been read, the president requested that he and the secretaries might take the oath first, which they did at once; thereupon the assembly took the same oath at the dictation of its president.

The president having reported to the assembly that the Bureau of Verifications had been unanimously in favor of the provisional admittance of the deputies of Saint-Domingo, the national assembly voted that the said deputies should be admitted provisionally, for which they expressed their deep appreciation. Consequently, they took the oath and were admitted to sign the decree.

The taking of the oath was followed by reiterated and universal cries of "Long live the King!" and at once the roll was called by baillages, sénéchaussées, provinces, and cities, in alphabetical order, and each of the members present, upon responding to the call, approached the desk and signed. . . .

[List of signers follows here.]

After the deputies had affixed their signatures some of the deputies whose credentials had not yet been verified and the substitutes presented themselves and requested to be permitted to give their adhesion to the decree passed by the assembly and to affix their signatures to it. This having been accorded by the assembly, they signed. . . .

[List of signers follows here.]

In the name of the assembly, the president notified the committee on food supply to meet to-morrow at the lodgings of the oldest member among those composing it. The assembly voted that the minutes of this day shall be printed by the printer of the national assembly. The session was adjourned to Monday, the 22d of this month, in the hall and at the usual hour. The president and the secretaries signed: Bailly, President; Camus, Secretary; Pison du Galland, Jr., Secretary.

2. *Le point du jour, No.* 4.

After the vote passed by the clergy, an immense crowd of spectators betook themselves Saturday at a very early hour to the hall of the national assembly. They wished to witness a union so much the more remarkable, as the majority was constantly increasing through the addition of new signers; but the military force already prohibited entrance and arrested this patriotic curiosity.

About nine o'clock the president of the assembly and the two secretaries presented themselves at the principal door; entrance having been refused to them as well as to a large number of deputies, the president asked for the officer of the guard. The Comte de Vassan presented himself and said he had been ordered to prevent any one entering the hall, because of preparations which were being made for a royal session. M. Bailly declared to him with firmness that he protested against the obstacles put in the way of the holding of the session fixed yesterday for to-day, and which he declared open.

The Comte de Vassan having added that he was authorized to allow the officers to enter to get the papers they might need, the president and the secretaries entered. They saw, in truth, that the most of the benches had been removed, and that all the passageways of the hall were guarded by soldiers. They noticed at the same time in the court and on the outside door several placards, the tenor of which we have given in the last number.

The president and the two secretaries betook themselves soon after to the tennis court near Saint-Francis Street, where the members of the assembly went also; and, finding that nearly all of them had gathered there, they held their session and continued to deliberate upon public questions, perfectly convinced that the national assembly existed in any place where its members had come together.

At about half past ten, the assembly being complete, the president gave an account of two letters which he had received in the morning from the Marquis de Brézé, grand master of ceremonies, and of the reply he had made to them.

First letter of M. de Brézé

"The King having ordered me, Sir, to make public by heralds his intention to hold on Monday, the twenty-second of this month, a royal session, and at the same time his purpose to suspend the assemblies, which the preparations to be made in the three halls of the orders render necessary, I have the honor to inform you of it. I am with respect, Sir," etc.

"P. S.—I believe it would be well, Sir, if you would charge the secretary with the responsibility of gathering up the papers for fear they might be lost. Would you also have the kindness to have the names of the secretaries sent to me, that I may give instructions permitting them to enter, the necessity of not interrupting the task of the workmen, who have no time to spare, not making it possible to admit everybody to the halls."

Reply of the president of the national assembly

"I have not yet received any order from the King, Sir, for the royal session, nor for the suspension of the assemblies, and it is my duty to go to the one I set for this morning at eight o'clock."

Second letter of M. de Brézé

"It was by positive orders of the King that I had the honor to write to you this morning, Sir, and inform you that His Majesty, wishing to hold a royal session on Monday, which calls for preparations in the three assembly halls of the orders, his intention was that no one should be allowed to enter, and that the sessions should be suspended until after the one His Majesty will hold. I am with respect," etc.

After the reading of these letters, the assembly, having deliberated, passed unanimously the following decree:

"The national assembly, considering itself called to establish the constitution of the kingdom, to work for the regeneration of public order, and to maintain the true principles of the monarchy, cannot be prevented in any way from continuing its deliberations in whatever place it may be forced to establish itself, and, finally, wherever its members are gathered, there is the national assembly; resolved that all the members of this assembly immediately take the solemn oath never to separate, and to reassemble wherever circumstances require until the constitution of the kingdom shall be established and fixed on solid bases; and, that the oath being taken, all the members and each one of them in particular shall confirm by their signatures this unshakable resolution."

The Oath of the Tennis Court

After the reading of this decree the president requested that he and the secretaries might take the oath first. The president took the oath alone, and he had the secretaries take the oath after the following formula: "We swear never to separate from the national assembly, and to reassemble where circumstances may require until the constitution of the kingdom shall be established and fixed on solid foundations." Then the assembly took the same oath at the dictation of its president. A minute before, the deputies of the colony of Saint-Domingo had presented themselves to ask permission to associate themselves provisionally with the nation by taking the same oath. The report of the committee on credentials having been favorable to this provisional request, the assembly granted it, and they took the same oath. This ceremony formed the most imposing spectacle. It was followed by applause and reiterated and universal cries of "Long live the King!" The oath taken, the Marquis de Gouy addressed the assembly, saying: "The colony of Saint-Domingo was very young when it gave itself to Louis XIV.; to-day, richer and more brilliant, it puts itself under the protection of the national assembly, and declares that it will henceforth call itself a national colony."

The roll call of the deputies of the baillages, the sénéchaussées, the provinces, and cities took place according to alphabetical order, and each one of the

members, on responding, approached the desk and signed.

During the roll call, and in his turn, a deputy of the sénéchaussée of Castelnaudary signed *opposed.* Camus, one of the secretaries, announced it to the assembly, and there arose a general cry of indignation. The president having first asked that the reasons of the one opposed be heard, the latter declared that he did not believe he could swear to execute deliberations which had not been sanctioned by the king. The president replied to him that the assembly had already made public the same principles in its addresses and deliberations, and that it was in the hearts and minds of all the members of the assembly to recognize the necessity of the royal sanction for all resolutions passed upon the constitution and legislation. The deputy in opposition having persisted in his opinion, it was voted that his signature should be left on the document to prove the liberty of opinion. The roll call of the deputies and the signing of the decree having been finished at about half past four, the question came up of preparing an address to the king to inform him of this decree. Chapelier, De Gouy, and some others improvised addresses, but the assembly did not make use of them, and it resolved that the president should simply present to the king the above decree, at the same time testifying to his majesty its astonishment and its grief at having been interrupted in the

holding of its sessions without having been previously notified. Before the end of this session, which lasted until six o'clock, it was decided that that of the assembly was adjourned and continued on Monday at the usual hour. It was also decided that if the royal session took place in the national hall all the members would remain there after the adjournment of the session to take up their deliberations and usual tasks. Finally the printing of the minutes and the decree of this day was ordered, that they might be made public the next day.

[*Yesterday, Sunday, no session.*

3. *L'assemblée nationale*, I, 160. The 20th.

They were on their way to the hall of the estates, as usual, and at the hour indicated, when they heard announced in the streets by heralds at arms that which follows: "The King having resolved to hold a royal session of the states general, Monday, June 22d, the preparations to be made in the three halls which serve for the meetings of the orders make it necessary that these assemblies should be suspended until after the holding of the said session. His Majesty will make known by a new proclamation the hour at which he will betake himself on Monday to the assembly of the estates." The deputies, seeing in this proclamation no particular order not to go to the hall, seeing in it only an exhibition of authority, only an outrage upon the liberty of the entire nation, and which it is always glorious to repulse with all

one's power, took one and all the road to the usual place of their session. Having arrived at the gate of the Menus, what a novel spectacle! The deputies found there French guards, officers of the guards, who with fixed bayonets and drawn swords would have plunged like vile assassins the sword of despotism into the breast of the citizen, of the representative of the nation, whom the profound sense of injustice would have cast into the midst of these sacrilegious battalions. And who would believe it? It is a deputy who commands these French Guards, it is the Duc du Chatelet, it is he who figures among the representatives of the nobility, and who is the leading fanatic on the side of the majority.

I cannot express here the sentiments the deputies experienced: some, filled with the keenest sorrow, saw in the future nothing but the dissolution of the estates; others were filled with indignation at seeing the majesty of the nation thus profaned, vilified by an exhibition of authority which since the monarchy reposes upon unshakable foundations and in the most oppressive reigns has never seen the like. But no deputy was frightened; the love of the public welfare, devotion to country, bolstered up their courage and inspired them with resolutions, one after the other, worthy of the finest ages of Rome or Sparta.

Gathered in groups in the Avenue de Versailles, they asked one another reciprocally what should be

done in such trying circumstances. Here some one cried out in a loud voice: "Let us all go to Marly. Let us go there, right in front of the château, and hold our session; let us force into the hearts of our enemies the fear with which they have filled ours; let them tremble in their turn. The king announces a royal session, he has postponed it [the session] until next Monday. This delay is too long; he shall hold it immediately; he shall come down from his château and will only have to place himself in the midst of his people."

There some one said: "What! Do they want to dissolve the estates? Does the government want to plunge the country into the horrors of civil war? Everywhere there is lack of food; everywhere fears of famine exist. For two years French blood has been reddening the ground; we were going to put an end to these misfortunes, to raise the thick veil with which the activities of the monopolists were covered; to free the government itself from the charge of having starved the people, to prove that the two hundred millions which are in the royal treasury do not come from this crime, and it stopped us in our course!"

"Let them open our annals; the Louis XI.'s, the Mazarins, the Richelieus, the Briennes have attacked, rended, oppressed corporations, individuals; but does one believe that twelve hundred deputies of the nation are subject to the caprices, to the chang-

ing, momentary whim of a despotic ministry?" Such were the different emotions of the deputies who in the midst of those who surrounded them, of travelers who stopped to contemplate this spectacle, of the people who gathered in crowds, expressed the sentiments of their hearts with that frankness, that liberty which formerly animated those ancient Romans in the public places.

Some wished to assemble in the Place d'Armes. It is there, they said, that we must revive those beautiful days of our history; it is there we will hold the Champ de Mai. Others wished to gather in the gallery [of the château] and there give the novel spectacle of speaking the language of liberty by the side of that sinister hall in which, a short time since, was designated for the executioner the head of him who had pronounced this sacred word; when it was announced to the assembly that M. Bailly had just entered the hall with two commissioners and twenty deputies to take away the papers left there the evening before; that M. Bailly had then fixed the place of assembly in the tennis court, Rue Saint-François.

Groups of deputies united to go to the place indicated by the president. At the opening of the meeting M. Bailly announced that he had received this morning a letter from the Marquis de Brézé of the following content:

"The King having ordered me, Sir, to make public

by the heralds at arms that he was going to hold a royal session next Monday, June 22d, and to prepare in consequence the halls of the states general, I have the honor to inform you of it. I am with respect," etc.

M. Bailly added that he had replied in the following terms: "Not having yet received orders of the King, Sir, the assembly being announced for eight o'clock, I shall go where duty calls me."

Hardly had the reading of this reply ended when a second letter of M. de Brézé to the president was announced. The Marquis de Brézé excused himself by saying that he had been charged by the king to notify the president, and that it was equally by the orders of his majesty that he had placed sentinels at the doors of the estates.

It appeared from this letter that it was the Marquis de Brézé who had rendered himself guilty of high treason against the nation by placing troops at the door of the national hall. It appeared also that he should be charged with this crime if he could not justify himself by an order in the handwriting of the king. The assembly made some observations upon the criminal conduct of the grand master, but it had other causes of alarm which did not permit it to fix its attention upon a single individual.

M. Bailly described with force and energy the frightful situation of the national assembly; he suggested the discussion of the question of what course

the assembly should take at such a stormy moment. There was but one opinion, adopted unanimously; it was due to M. Mounier. In truth, some changes were made in it. M. Target, M. le Chapelier, M. Barnave supported the measure he proposed with that eloquence of the moment which difficulties arouse, which the sentiment of liberty animates, and that courage which struggles against danger and turns to steel against obstacles. One would have imagined that he was listening to Cicero thundering from the tribune against the faction of Catiline.

Here is the decree as it was passed:

DECREE OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, JUNE 20TH

"The national assembly considering that, called to fix the constitution of the kingdom, effect the regeneration of public order, and maintain the true principles of the monarchy, nothing can prevent it from continuing its deliberations and consummating the important work for which it has assembled, in whatsoever place it may be forced to establish itself, and that, finally, wherever its members may meet, there is the national assembly; decrees that all its members shall take at once a solemn oath never to separate, and to assemble wherever circumstances may demand until the constitution of the kingdom and the regeneration of public order shall be established on solid bases, and that, the oath being taken by all the members and by each one in particular,

they shall confirm, by their signatures, this unshakable resolution."

As soon as it was approved, applauded, each one took the solemn oath just given. It is thus that these virtuous citizens devote themselves, for the love of country, to all the dangers which despotism, persecution, and calumny prepare around them; it is thus that they bind themselves in a holy conspiracy for promoting the welfare of their fellow-citizens, to respect the fundamental laws of the monarchy, by annihilating the abuses which violate them every day and by posing upon eternal foundations the happiness of the country and the splendor of the state. It was not sufficient to pronounce it; the national assembly wished to sign it and bind itself by the strongest possible chains.

That each deputy might come in his turn, there was a general roll call by baillages. All the deputies signed with the enthusiasm of liberty. There were but two men who, incapable of responding to the call of duty, feared to submit to the oath. Two deputies of Castelnaudary, M. Guilhermy, procurer of the king in the presidial, withdrew without signing,[1] M. Martin d'Auch, advocate, signed it, it is true, but added a protestation to it. No one at the

[1] In the facsimiles of the signatures of the oath, published by Brette in his "Serment du Jeu de Paume," the name of Guilhermy is found.

time noticed it; it was only at the end of the signing. M. Bailly asked the assembly if it would consent to have these protests remain in the minutes. Opinions were divided, and it was only after a long debate that they agreed upon one opinion, which was unanimously approved. The *procès-verbal*, it said, will be printed, and those protests of M. Martin will prove his devotion to the country. M. Martin realized fully the mistake he had allowed himself to make; he wished to justify himself, advanced to the table, talked some time, but without success. The deputation of Saint-Domingo, which had been admitted to the sessions of the assembly, but without having any right to be there, asked to be definitely admitted in order to sign the oath. M. Bailly said that he had in hand an opinion pronounced by the bureau of verification, which stated that the deputation should be received to the number of twelve. This opinion was followed in the assembly; the deputies of Saint-Domingo were admitted into the assembly to the number of twelve and took and signed the oath.

M. Chapelier proposed, thereupon, to prepare an address to the king; he read a sketch of one, M. Barnave another. But the assembly, while approving them, believed it was not the fitting moment to send an address to the king, as that would be to multiply them, since the assembly some time before had asked the king to fix the time when it could

present one to him and it had not yet been indicated. The session closed at six o'clock in the evening, it being voted that next Monday, at eight o'clock in the morning, the assembly should betake itself to the usual place of its session. It was proposed that an orator should be named, but it was replied that it would be useless; that if it was necessary to reply to the king, M. Bailly, the president, would acquit himself of the task with the prudence, the sagacity, and the respectful courage he has manifested since he had the honor to preside over the assembly.

4. Bailly, *Mémoires*, I, 230.

At half past six in the morning, one of my friends, the Chevalier de Panges, who was very much interested in the debates of the assembly and who, to follow their course attentively, had established himself at Versailles and attended every session, came to me and announced that, having gone to the hall, as he did every day, he had been refused entrance. He asked me if I had given orders, and I replied in the negative. . . . I sent a messenger to the hall. I was informed that it was surrounded by French guards. I was shown a placard conceived in these terms: "*By Order of the King. . . . The King having resolved to hold a royal session of the states general, on the 22d of June, the preparations to be made in the three halls which serve for the meetings of the orders make it necessary to suspend these meetings until after the holding of the said session. His Majesty will*

make known by a fresh proclamation the hour at which on Monday he will betake himself to the assembly of the estates. . . ." A quarter of an hour later I received the following letter from M. le Marquis de Brézé, grand master of ceremonies:

"*Versailles, June 20, 1789.*

"*The King having ordered me, Sir, to make public by heralds his intention to hold on Monday, the twenty-second of this month, a royal session, and at the same time his intention to suspend the assemblies, which the preparations to be made in the halls of the three orders render necessary, I have the honor to inform you of it. I am,*" *etc.*

This official knowledge came too late, because we had already learned of it by the public rumor and by the occupation of the hall. It was not sufficient, because it should have been made known not only to me, but also to the assembly, and, the hall being closed and the session suspended, I no longer had any means of communicating with the members. . . . After having weighed all the difficulties of the critical situation in which I found myself I felt that the letter of M. de Brézé did not exempt me from my duties toward the assembly. Friday evening I had set the hour of the session for the next day at eight o'clock. Nothing could release me from this engagement contracted with it and the session ought

to take place, permitting the assembly, when it had knowledge of the letter, to take, in its wisdom, the course it might judge proper. I wrote immediately to M. de Brézé: "*I have not yet received any order from the King, Sir, for the royal session, nor for the suspension of the assemblies; and it is my duty to go to the one I set for this morning at eight o'clock. I have the honor to be,*" *etc.*

I dressed quickly and called the secretaries together to consult them upon what we should do. We agreed that we ought to ignore the fact that the hall was closed, to go there as usual and draw up an official statement of the refusal to allow us to enter. In fact, we presented ourselves at the principal entrance in the Avenue de Paris, which we found surrounded by a great crowd in which were many deputies. The sentinel stopped us and forbade us to pass. I asked for the officer of the guard, M. le comte de Vassan, who told me that, the king intending to hold a royal session Monday, the indispensable preparations had made it necessary to order the closing of the hall. I replied to him, according to what had been agreed upon, that I protested against the obstacles put in the way of the holding of the session fixed yesterday for to-day, and which I declared open. After this precaution—necessary in order to safeguard the rights of the legitimately constituted assembly—M. de Vassan had us enter the court in order to get us away from

the crowd; in every way he conducted himself toward us with the greatest consideration. As we were getting ready to draw up the minutes, and as it was raining a little, he invited us to enter the building and to see the hall and convince ourselves that, occupied as it was, it was impossible to hold the session there. As we were about to enter, the crowd of deputies who were outside the grating in the avenue made a movement to follow us. M. de Vassan called to arms and ran after me to ask me to use my authority as president to prevent an attempt to force an entrance; he called my attention to the embarrassing position in which he found himself between the respect he owed the deputies and his office, which, according to military law, did not permit him in any case to allow his post to be forced. I trembled at the danger; I ran to the grating; I implored the deputies who were without to make no attempt to force the guard and the gate; I assured them that we were coming out to join them. At my voice the movement ceased and everything remained quiet. It was at this moment that a young deputy said to me: "Why do you interfere in this matter? Let it alone." I replied to him, "Sir, you give the advice of a young man." And, in truth, what would have happened if armed force had been opposed to the movement of the deputies, if some of them had been killed and wounded, even if they had been only roughly treated by laying violent hands upon per-

sons inviolable and almost sacred on account of their office? It would have produced a general conflagration. We attained our end and succeeded by wiser and more legal means. We entered one of the offices of the building, and there I received a second letter from M. de Brézé, who, not having understood me, explained to me that his letter contained the orders of the king:

"*Versailles, June 20, 1789.*

"*It was by positive orders of the King that I had the honor to write to you this morning, Sir, and to inform you that, His Majesty wishing to hold a royal session, which calls for preparations in the three assembly halls of the orders, his intention was that no one should be allowed to enter; that the sessions should be suspended until after the one His Majesty will hold. I am,*" *etc.*

It was not possible for me alone to decide what action should be taken upon the declared intentions of the king, nor even upon orders, because I had no right to bind the assembly. It was its business to deliberate upon what it should do; I was responsible to it for my actions as it was responsible for its own to the nation. We were in this office with the secretaries and a dozen deputies who had been allowed to come in with us. M. de Vassan came and explained to us that longer delay in the interior of

the building would compromise him. We saw that he had realized that a document we might draw up and which would be dated from the inside of the building would be in contradiction with his orders, and would show he had not exactly carried them out. We did not wish to run the risk of embarrassing a man who had comported himself with so much kindness and politeness, and we went out. We rejoined the large gathering of deputies in the avenue. All were of the opinion that it was necessary to call the assembly to order that it might deliberate in so delicate a crisis and, accordingly, to find a suitable hall. M. Guillotin proposed the tennis court. It was voted to go there. I walked at the head of this crowd of deputies, and, for fear that the place might be closed to us for political reasons, asked five or six of the deputies to go ahead and take possession of it. The owner of the tennis court received us with pleasure and hastened to procure for us the greatest number of conveniences possible. Not having a guard, I asked two deputies to place themselves at the door to prevent strangers from entering. But very soon the guard of the city hall came to ask permission to continue their regular service as at the hall, which was granted them with pleasure. Behold, then, the national assembly of France in a tennis court, in a place witness of exercises and games, and which was about to become the witness of the destinies of the empire, in a place where the walls

were somber and bare, where there was not a seat to sit upon. An arm-chair was offered to me, but I refused it; I did not wish to be seated before a standing assembly. I remained thus all this tiresome day. During the whole session we had only five or six benches and one table for writing. But this place was exalted by the majesty which it contained; the galleries were filled with spectators, a crowd of people surrounded the door and extended for a great distance into the streets, and everything announced that it was the nation which honored the tennis court by its presence.

The deputies arrived one after another, and each one, suspecting what the ministry was trying to do, congratulated himself on seeing the others again and on being united with them. As soon as the assembly could be called to order and silence secured I reported on the two letters I had received from M. de Brézé and on all the steps the secretaries and I had taken. Our conduct was universally approved. They thought that a letter from the grand master of ceremonies was not sufficient, and that a letter from the king himself to the president of the assembly was necessary to communicate directly to him his intentions. In short, when the king had something to communicate to the parliament, he wrote to the first president; for matters touching religion he wrote to the Archbishop of Paris. The assembly, even in its incipiency, had a

right to ask to be treated as well as the parliament. The maladroitness of the ministry was, then, inconceivable, but it helped the national assembly, and its wisdom profited by all the false measures employed against it. The question as to whether the king had the right to suspend the sessions of the assembly was not treated openly, but the opinion was that it would be very dangerous if the king had this right. It was thought the session could not be suspended, at least in this manner. The principal and fundamental question was not ripe; it was sufficient for the present to have avoided the dangers of separation. It was necessary to occupy ourselves with measures to prevent it from coming up again. The members were excited, and some of them were inclined toward extreme measures, and were of the opinion that the assembly should change its meeting place to Paris, and should depart immediately on foot and in a body. A member wrote out the motion for it; everything would have been lost if this violent step had been taken. Perhaps a troop of cavalry would have been called out to stop the march. At any rate, they would have separated themselves from the king, and this step would have had serious consequences. If the motion had been made, it is to be feared that the effervescence of the moment would have led to its adoption by acclamation and without examination. Another member had the idea of the oath. A general cry of

approbation arose at once, and after a very short discussion the assembly passed the following decree, so simple but so firm:

"The national assembly, considering itself called to establish the constitution of the kingdom, to work for the regeneration of public order, and to maintain the true principles of the monarchy, cannot be prevented in any way from continuing its deliberations, in whatever place it may be forced to establish itself, and, finally, wherever its members are gathered, there is the national assembly.

"Resolved that all the members of this assembly immediately take a solemn oath never to separate, and to reassemble wherever circumstances require, until the constitution of the kingdom shall be established and fixed upon solid foundations; and that, the said oath being taken, all the members and each one of them in particular shall confirm by their signature this unshakable resolution."

The resolution having been passed, I asked, on account of my rank as president, to take the oath first; the secretaries made the same request. When we had taken this solemn oath, the entire assembly took it at my dictation. I pronounced the formula in a voice so loud and so intelligible that my words were understood by all the people who were in the street, and immediately in the midst of the applause there arose from the assembly and from the crowd of citizens who were without, reiterated and uni-

versal cries of "Long live the King!" The assembly, in its firm and courageous conduct, if it took useful precautions against the ministry, if it armed itself against its despotism, was still united heart and soul with the king, and had no intention of doing anything against his legitimate authority; it had even taken care to declare in its resolution that one of its duties was to maintain the true principles of the monarchy, in order to thoroughly prove to all that whatever hostility there might be in its measures was directed against despotism and not against the monarchy.

This resolution is still one of the monuments of the wisdom of the national assembly. It secured its safety, it protected the interests of France, and it assured the making of a constitution not yet commenced. There is no doubt but that there was a desire and a plan to dissolve this assembly which promised to be too formidable; preparations were being made, and without doubt troops were gathered in quite large numbers around Paris and Versailles with the intention of making a big change in the ministry and of doing violence to the assembly. It is certain that by the act which the assembly had just passed separation became impossible. If orders had been given they could not have been executed. The experience of the day proved that if the hall were closed the assembly would gather elsewhere; if a meeting place had not been found at

Versailles, the members would have gone to Paris or to another city. How could it have been prevented? A few deputies could, indeed, have been arrested, but how could six hundred have been imprisoned? Those who remained would still have been the national assembly, wherever they were, and the employment of violence would have roused and armed the kingdom.

Immediately after the taking of the oath the roll was called by baillages, sénéchaussées, provinces, and cities; and each of the members present, on responding to the call, approached the desk and signed.

One member alone, M. Martin d'Auch, had the temerity to add to his signature the word *opposed.* Instantly a great tumult arose. The assembly was profoundly moved by this defection from the unanimity of the deliberation; indignation followed, and rage took possession of the greater part of the members of the assembly. During this clamor I rushed into the midst of the crowd and mounted upon the table, in order to dominate and be understood. After having the fact explained to me, of which I had been vaguely informed, I had M. Martin d'Auch come forward. He repeated to me what he had already said, that he did not believe that he could swear to execute decrees which had not been sanctioned by the king. I replied to him that the assembly believed in the same principles, that it

would always recognize the necessity of the royal sanction. (*Point du jour*, I, page 25.) I explained to him that the resolutions touching the internal affairs of the assembly and the present oath did not appear to be susceptible of sanction. He persisted. I made some fitting remarks on his stubbornness and reproached him as he deserved; I even spoke with very great severity to satisfy the general discontent and quiet the assembly. I said to him that each deputy had his own conscience and was master of his own opinion, but it was not permissible for him to associate his individual opinion with that of the assembly; he could refuse his support to an opinion with which he did not agree, but he could not explain his action in the minutes; that the protest of an individual could be inserted there only by an express vote. That said, I had him withdraw that he might not be exposed to the results of a very legitimate indignation, and I had him pass out by a back door to protect him from an indignation much more redoubtable—that of the people to whom the news had already been carried. The assembly deliberated upon the kind of protest he had indulged in and the word *opposed*, which he had inserted in the minutes. Some wished to erase the signature and the word, but, the excitement having subsided and good sense having once more taken possession of the deliberations of the assembly, it was decided that the word *opposed* should be allowed to stand, and that at the

beginning of the decree it should be stated that it had lacked one vote of passing unanimously.

If this defection had vexed the assembly, it found consolation in the general eagerness of those who asked to be permitted to add their signatures to those of the deputies whose credentials had already been verified. The deputies of Saint-Domingo begged to be admitted immediately that they might sign, and this was granted them provisionally. The deputies whose credentials had not been verified, the substitutes present asked and obtained the same favor. Thus ended this great and glorious day, and the assembly adjourned its session to Monday, the twenty-second, which was to be at the same time the royal session.

5. Duquesnoy, *Journal*, I, 111, No. 28, June 21st.

Yesterday, at the moment when the president presented himself at the assembly hall, he found it guarded by soldiers who refused him entrance. They gave as a reason that the king was to hold a session Monday and that preparations to be made in the hall required a great deal of time. He insisted and gained access to the hall; he saw that in truth everything was topsy-turvy. Then, by a sudden and almost involuntary movement of all the deputies who were on the spot, it was agreed to assemble in the tennis court. All the members arrived there successively, and after much indignation and many complaints it was proposed to draw up minutes of

these facts and to bind themselves by an oath never to separate, in whatever place they should be forced to assemble and for whatever cause it might be. The minutes were drawn up, the oath taken and signed by all the members after a very slight discussion on the form of the oath. The signing took a very long time, and was finished only at six o'clock in the evening. Then different motions were made. M. le Chapelier proposed one which had for its object an address to the king for the purpose of presenting to him the minutes just drawn up as a proof of the love and fidelity of the assembly. It contained bitter complaints against the besetters of the throne who wish to detach the nation from its august chief to make of him a party leader. This motion appeared both too violent and too dangerous, as it is not known whether the royal session is for or against the commons; it is necessary to await the outcome before deciding what course to follow.

It was then proposed that the president should make a speech at the royal session; divers opinions were expressed in the debate which followed, after which it appears to me that it was voted there would not be any. It was agreed that immediately after the royal session the national assembly would remain in place to deliberate.

It is asserted that the majority of the nobility has just passed a decree in which it binds itself to shed the last drop of its blood rather than yield.

Such is our position to-day: one can only form conjectures concerning the object of the royal session, but in fact it is evident that agreement, union are impossible. There exists such animosity on all sides, so firm a determination to make one's opinion prevail, such solemn pledges, that nothing less than Providence can save the kingdom from the horrible crisis which menaces it. The extreme facility with which the oath never to separate was taken and signed is an inconceivable thing. It is evident that it is equivalent to taking possession of authority, to taking away from the king the right to dissolve or suspend the estates, to making itself master from that time on of the executive power. It is evident that each one of the members exposes himself personally to the greatest dangers, either from the irritated king or from the people, tired of bearing the burden the commons are going to impose upon them, and desperate at not gathering from the estates the fruits they had expected from them.

It is impossible to imagine with what levity, what inconsideration, this pledge was taken; few people, without doubt, saw its consequences.

What side, then, can the king take? If that of the nobility, the kingdom is inundated with blood; if that of the commons, he ceases to be king, and one cannot tell where they will stop. It is a frightful thing to say, but, unfortunately, it is only too true, the most exaggerated ideas, the most incendiary

propositions, nothing astonishes one to-day in the hall. It appears evident to me that the assembly is conducted by a half score of persons devoured by a profound and secret ambition, hungry for notoriety, and determined to acquire it at any price whatever. These men have no kind of morals and principles; nothing stops them; no right, no property will appear sacred to them, and natural equality, the natural law are the words they make use of to seduce and draw to them certain feeble minds which they have illuminated. Many through timidity do not dare oppose their frenzy, and the very exaggeration of their audacity, the boldness with which they slander, defame, insures their safety. Thus an assembly of six hundred persons, among whom there are many enlightened individuals, the entire kingdom are at the mercy of a few rascals to whom the greatest crimes are only a play.

It would be hard to believe, perhaps, that I have heard in the hall words like the following:

"It is only by swimming across rivers of blood that one can become free."

"My orders are given; to-morrow all the windows of the magistrates are broken."

"What can happen to us worse than death?"

"Perish if necessary, but perish with glory."

6. Young, Arthur. *Travels in France*, 1790.

The 20th. News! News! Every one stares at what every one might have expected—a message

from the king to the president of the three orders, that he should meet them on Monday; and, under pretense of preparing the hall for the *séance royale*, the French guards were placed with bayonets to prevent any of the deputies entering the room. The circumstances of doing this ill-judged act of violence have been as ill-advised as the act itself. Mons. Bailly received no other notice of it than by a letter from the Marquis de Brézé, and the deputies met at the door of the hall without knowing that it was shut. Thus the seeds of disgust were sown wantonly in the manner of doing a thing, which in itself was equally impalatable and unconstitutional. The resolution taken on the spot was a noble and firm one; it was to assemble instantly at the *jeu de paume*, and then the whole assembly took a solemn oath never to be dissolved but by their own consent, and consider themselves and act as the national assembly, let them be wherever violence or fortune might drive them, and their expectations were so little favorable that expresses were sent off to Nantes, intimating that the national assembly might possibly find it necessary to take refuge in some distant city. This message, and placing guards at the hall of the states, are the results of long and repeated councils, held in the king's presence at Marly, where he had been shut up for several days, seeing nobody; and no person admitted, even to the officers of the court, without

jealousy and inspection. The king's brothers have no seat in the council, but the Comte d'Artois incessantly attends the resolutions, conveys them to the queen, and has long conferences with her. When this news arrived at Paris, the Palais Royal was in a flame, the coffee-houses, pamphlet shops, corridors, and gardens were crowded—alarm and apprehension sat in every eye—and reports that were circulated eagerly, tending to show the violent intentions of the court, as it were bent on the entire extirpation of the French nation, except the party of the queen, are perfectly incredible for their gross absurdity; but nothing was so glaringly ridiculous, but the mob swallowed it with undiscriminating faith. It was, however, curious to remark, among people of another description (for I was in several parties after the news arrived), that the balance of opinions was clearly that the national assembly, as it called itself, had gone too far—had been too precipitate and too violent—had taken steps that the mass of the people would not support. From which we may conclude that if the court, having seen the tendency of their late proceedings, shall pursue a firm and politic plan, the popular cause will have little to boast.

The 21st. It is impossible to have any other employment at so critical a moment than going from house to house demanding news, and remarking the opinions and ideas most current. The present moment is, of all others, perhaps that which is most

pregnant with the future destiny of France. The step the commons have taken of declaring themselves the national assembly independent of the other orders, and of the king himself, precluding a dissolution, is in fact an assumption of all the authority in the kingdom. They have at one stroke converted themselves into the long parliament of Charles I. It needs not the assistance of much penetration to see that if such a pretension and declaration are not done away, king, lords, and clergy are deprived of their shares in the legislation of France. So bold and apparently desperate a step, full in the teeth of every other interest in the realm, equally destructive to royal authority, by parliaments and the army, can never be allowed. If it is not opposed, all other powers will lie in ruins around that of the common.

7. Mounier, *Recherches sur les causes qui ont empêché les Français de devenir libres*, I, 294.

June 20th. A short time before the hour fixed for the meeting, the deputy who was the presiding officer received a letter from the grand master of ceremonies; he would not have had time to notify all the members of the assembly at their lodgings. He [Bailly] replied that he had received no order from the king, and that he was going to the meeting of the assembly. The grand master of ceremonies wrote him a second letter to inform him that he acted only in accordance with the orders of the

monarch. But did they not know that the deputies were going to gather at the door of their hall; that, repulsed by armed men, they would not fail to consider this act as an outrage; that their indignation would quickly spread to the multitude? Is it not indeed surprising that the populace, irritated by the gathering of the deputies, hurrying in crowds through the streets of Versailles, complaining with loud cries because their assembly hall had been closed by military force—is it not surprising that at the very instant it did not break out into fierce revolt? Doubtless these measures had not been contemplated by the king; they were due to the blunders of secondary officials. But, none the less, they led to the most deplorable consequences; they gave birth to the fear that the states general were to be dissolved, that it would be necessary to renounce all hopes born at the time of their convocation. The members of the commons took refuge in a tennis court, and there they took an oath never to separate until the constitution had been made.

Sharing the general indignation; fearing to see this great opportunity, so long awaited, of reforming abuses and improving the lot of the people, vanish; hearing around me the assertion that we must choose between taking the oath or going at once to the capital in the midst of the fermentation this scandalous scene would create; yielding to the desire of recovering the credit with the popular

party I had lost, and which I wished to recover only that I might use it for the good of my country; hoping that the union of the orders, which appeared to me inevitable and not remote, would create a majority favorable to the royal authority, I believed this oath less dangerous, I believed that it was justified by the circumstances, I charged myself imprudently with putting it before the assembly. This fatal oath was an infringement of the rights of the monarch; it was equivalent to saying to him that he had not the right to dissolve the assembly; it rendered the assembly independent of him, whatever use it might make of its authority. How I reproach myself to-day with having proposed it! What lessens the bitterness of these recollections is that a hundred voices would have been raised to present this measure had I not presented it myself; or, what was worse still, the assembly would have set the capital on fire and, supported by the whole force of the people, would have put itself in a state of war with the king. But what intrepid firmness was shown by M. Martin, deputy of Auch, who alone in that impassioned crowd dared to speak of the fidelity he owed his prince, braved injuries and menaces, and asked to be permitted to protest.[1]

8. Malouet, *Mémoires*, I, 321.

The meeting of the tennis court was the natural

[1] This second paragraph appears as a footnote in the French text, page 296.

consequence of the half measures opposed to the audacious enterprises of the commons. I persist in maintaining that we should not have been refused entrance to our hall without being sent back to our baillages, and with the very clear announcement to the nation that the purpose of the adjournment was only to assure the full and entire execution of the national wishes, already changed and violated by the present assembly of the commons.

The oath of the tennis court was a signal of insurrection. I proposed uselessly an amendment to the effect that we should never separate from the king; my proposition was received with hoots. The general opinion then was that the king, the court, and the first two orders wished to annul the estates, arrest the patriotic deputies, and establish despotism by an armed force.

The scene of the tennis court is still exaggerated. When I advanced to the table to propose as an amendment *to make the constitution in concert with the king*, M. Bailly said, "*That is just, but I shall not put it to the vote that it may not be rejected.*" I insisted. I proposed especially the oath with a condition and several deputies supported me.[1] Malouet, *Opinions*, III, 209.

9. Biauzat, Gaultier, *Vie et correspondance*, II, 132 (June 23, 1789).

[1] Paragraph three appears as a footnote in the *Mémoires*, page 321.

agents who had acted so inconsiderately might produce some bad effect in Paris gave rise to a letter of M. Necker to M. de Crosne, lieutenant general of police, in which the minister declared that the intention of the king was not to interrupt the sessions of the states general, and requested M. de Crosne to make this letter public. It was printed and distributed *gratis*. I saw copies of it in Paris last Sunday, but I find none here to send you.

M. le marquis de Brézé betook himself Saturday to the halting place of the hunt to inform the king of what had taken place in the morning. He could speak of it as an eye-witness, for I saw him in the court of the Menus[1] ask our president, with whom I and twenty-five or thirty others had entered, if our president had received the second letter he had written him a half hour before, and to which the president had made no reply.

M. de Brézé communicated to the king the public intention of the clergy to unite with us. The king replied: "*It is a good example to follow.*" The person who informed me of this fact is very sure of it; you can count upon it.

10. Rabaut de Saint-Étienne. *Précis historique de la révolution française*, 132.

The twentieth of June, after the national assembly had constituted itself, the members of the clergy

[1] A portion of the building occupied by the estates was called the Menus.

were expected to join it. But while the deputies were going to the hall a proclamation was made by heralds at arms and posted everywhere, announcing that the sessions were suspended, and that the king would hold a royal session on the 22d. The reason given for the closing of the hall for three days was the necessity of work in the interior in the decoration of the throne. This puerile reason served to prove that they only wished to prevent the union of the clergy, the majority of which had adopted the system of the commons. However, the deputies arrived one after another, and they felt the deepest indignation on finding the doors closed and guarded by soldiers. They asked each other what power had the right to suspend the deliberations of the representatives of the nation. They talked of holding their meeting in the street, of going to the terrace of Marly to offer the king the spectacle of the deputies of the people, to invite him to unite with them in a truly royal and paternal session more worthy of his heart than that with which he menaced them. M. Bailly, their president, was permitted to enter the hall with some members to get their papers; and there he protested against the arbitrary orders which kept the hall closed. Finally he assembled the deputies in the tennis court of Versailles, become famous forever on account of the courageous resistance of the first representatives of the French nation. They encouraged one another

as they went along; they promised never to separate from one another, and to resist to the death. They arrived there; they sent out a call for the deputies who were not informed of what was going on. A sick deputy had himself taken to the hall. The people, who besieged the door, covered their representatives with benedictions. Soldiers disobeyed orders to come and guard the entrance to this new sanctuary of liberty. A voice was heard; it asked that each one should take the oath never to separate from the others, to assemble in any place whatsoever until the constitution of the monarchy and public reforms had been secured. All took the oath, all signed except one; and the minutes make mention of this remarkable circumstance.

11. Dorset, *Despatches from Paris*, II, 220 (June 25, 1789).

On Sunday last only the nobility assembled in their own court; Monday had been fixed for a *séance royale*, which for particular reasons was put off till the next day; in the mean time M. Necker, it having been apprehended that the people in this capital might be alarmed at such an appearance of arbitrary exertion on the part of the king, wrote the following letter to M. de Crosne, the lieutenant general of the police:

"*June 20th, five o'clock in the evening.*

"The hall of the states general having been closed as a matter of absolute necessity, the deputies of

the third estate having assembled in another place, the public might believe that the intention of the king was to dissolve the states general. It is essential, Sir, that you should make it understood everywhere in Paris that His Majesty is still engaged in bringing about union and harmony for the good of his people, and that the sessions will begin again next Monday."

Everything has been perfectly quiet in this city, but the consternation which visibly prevails, and the number of persons who assemble daily in the coffee-houses and all places of public resort, especially in the garden of the Palais Royal, where they discuss with a marked anxiety and interest the important business of the moment, far exceeds anything of the kind I have ever seen in this country.

12. Bailli de Virieu, *Correspondance*, 98 (June 22, 1789).

The deputies of the third estate, having found the door of the hall of the estates barred by French and Swiss guards, not having been notified, they feared that the remonstrances of the other chambers had decided the king to suspend, even to dissolve, the states general. They betook themselves, accordingly, to a neighboring tennis court, and there took oath never to separate until the constitution had been formed.

This alarm was not well founded, the doors having been closed to give opportunity for the preparations

necessary for the royal session which will take place Monday, and in which the king will endeavor to bring the orders together. Last evening M. de Crosne, lieutenant of police, received a letter from the king requesting him to reassure the people of Paris upon his intentions.

PROBLEM II

II.—The Royal Session of June 23, 1789

The Royal Session of June 23, 1789

A. THE HISTORIC SETTING OF THE PROBLEM

THE royal session followed so closely upon the oath of the tennis court, separated from it by only three days, that it is necessary to add but little to what has been said in the historic setting of the first problem. The time from June 19th to June 23d was occupied by the king and his council in the discussion of the plan for the royal session. The nature and outcome of this discussion forms a part of the problem, and need not be treated here. Something, however, should be said concerning the events of June 22d, when the majority of the clergy joined the national assembly for the purpose of verifying credentials in common. This question had been debated in the order of the clergy from June 12th, when the summons was received from the commons to bring their credentials into the common hall, until June 19th, when the clergy voted to accept the invitation. The closing of the hall on June 20th prevented the union on that day, and the national assembly adjourned to meet after the royal session. The failure of the king and his council to arrive at any understanding on June 21st, touching the plan for the session of the next day, made it necessary to postpone the session until June 22d. Again on the morning of June 22d the voice of the herald was heard in the streets of Versailles, and again the

deputies tried in vain to get access to their hall. The assembly had adjourned on the twentieth to meet on the twenty-second, and the meeting must be held; the oath required it. But where should the deputies meet? The tennis court was not seriously considered. There was a tradition that the Comte d'Artois had engaged the court for tennis to prevent the deputies from meeting there, and the tradition has been repeated, without examination, by many writers. The truth is the deputies did not wish to occupy the tennis court on the twenty-second. The court was already occupied by spectators, there were no seats, and it was understood that the clergy would unite with the commons on this day. Some other place must be found. The order of the Recollets occupied buildings in the same street with the court, and an attempt was made to secure their church for the assembly. The brothers were fearful of the royal displeasure, and declined to allow the buildings to be used. This incident may have given rise to the false tradition concerning the Comte d'Artois and the tennis court. Finally the curate of the church of Saint-Louis offered the use of his church.

The deputies gathered there, and were called to order by Bailly. He read a letter from the Marquis de Brézé including one from the king to Bailly informing him of the postponement of the royal session and stating that the hall would be open only on the next day. The letter was addressed to "Monsieur Bailly, President of the Order of the Third Estate." It was evident that the king did not recognize the existence of a national assembly. There was no chance here for the subterfuge of June 20th. Here was a letter signed by the king himself, announcing the closing of the hall, but it did not forbid the meeting of the commons. The assembly prac-

tically reaffirmed its action of June 20th. Several deputies who had been absent on that day, and some substitutes, asked to be permitted to take the oath. The oath was read again, and the deputies signed.

A contesting delegation of nobles of Guyenne entered the hall and asked permission to lay their credentials before the assembly. It was voted that the credentials should be referred to the committee on verification, who should make a report to the assembly.

At this point a delegation from the clergy was announced, and the assembly sent a delegation to meet them. The clergy had assembled in another part of the church, and were desirous of knowing how they would be received before appearing as a body. This was the natural result of the vote of June 19th, in which the rights of the order had been reserved. The Bishop of Chartres, spokesman of the delegation, announced that, "The majority of the order of the clergy has voted to unite for the common verification of credentials, and we have come to notify you of it and to ask for its place in the assembly." The president replied: "The deputies of the order of the clergy to the states general will be received with all the cordiality and respect which is due them. Their ordinary place of distinction is free to receive them." In other words, although the commons had abolished the political distinction of the orders on June 17th, it was ready to receive the clergy as the first estate, to allow them to occupy seats which indicated precedence over the other two orders, and the president even referred to the clergy as *deputies to the states general*, as if the states general might even yet come into existence, and the term national assembly cease to have its revolutionary significance. The delegation returned to report, and soon the entrance of the clergy was announced.

The commons sent a delegation of sixteen members to receive them. As the clergy entered and passed to their seats on the right of the president they were received by vigorous applause from the commons and the spectators who crowded the church. The action of the clergy on the eve of the royal session strengthened the cause of the commons and gave presage of victory. The great assembly was deeply moved, many shedding tears. "The spectacle of this meeting," wrote Arthur Young, on the same day, "was singular—the crowd that attended in and around the church was great—and the anxiety and suspense in every eye, with the variety of expression that flowed from different views and different characters, gave to the countenances of all the world an expression I had never witnessed before." The Archbishop of Vienne, who acted as president of the clergy, explained the meaning of their action: "This union," he said, "which has for its object to-day only the common verification of credentials, is the signal and, I may say, the prelude of the constant union they [the clergy] desire with all the orders, and particularly with that of the deputies of the commons." Bailly, in reply, voiced the satisfaction of the assembly, but remarked that there were still wishes to be realized. "I see with regret," he explained, "that the brothers of another order are missing from this august family."

The archbishop had taken a seat by the side of the president, and, speaking in the name of the clergy, had asked that the minutes of the verification of the credentials of the commons be submitted to them. The clergy were requested to name sixteen of their number to serve as members of the committee on verification. The significance of all this should not be overlooked. The clergy had not declared in favor of a single assembly and

vote by head; they had not abandoned their independence as an order. "One should be careful not to believe," wrote Duquesnoy, "that the majority of the clergy are in favor of voting by head; they are for verifying credentials in common, and nothing more."

At the close of the session the members of the nobility from Dauphiné entered and were received with great applause. "The majority of the clergy," said the spokesman, the Marquis de Blaçons, "having put an end to all the difficulties contained in our instructions, we come to commit to you the verification of our credentials, and to ask to be permitted to examine the record of your verification." The delegation laid their credentials on the table, and they were referred to the committee on verification. The assembly was then adjourned "until the next morning at nine o'clock, in the usual meeting place." Thus, on the evening of the royal session it was clear that the commons had the support of the majority of the clergy in the matter of common verification, and that it was the intention of the commons, acting as the national assembly, to hold a meeting after the royal session, whatever might be the nature of that session. They were a national assembly, elected to make a constitution, and no one, not even the king himself, had the right to dissolve the assembly.

B. CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE SOURCES

1. Necker. (*a*) *Sur l'administration de M. Necker par lui-même.* Paris, 1791. Necker was born in Geneva in 1732, and died at Coppet, Switzerland, in 1804. Early in life he entered a Paris banking house as clerk. In time he built up a large banking business of his own, made his fortune, and acquired a great reputation as a

financier. In 1776 he was made minister of finance by Louis XVI., and held office until 1781. After his retirement matters went from bad to worse, and in 1788, when France was on the verge of bankruptcy, and the states general had been promised for 1789, Necker was recalled to office. He was, however, only a banker, and a statesman was needed to guide France through the great crisis of revolution. After a pitiful display of his inability to master the situation, in September, 1790, Necker resigned and left France, a disappointed man, his reputation wrecked and his popularity so completely gone that his departure was scarcely noticed. The following year he published an account of his two ministries. It was the statement of a man who tried to justify his acts and to throw the responsibility for his failure upon others. In previous writings he had spoken with great respect of public opinion. "I do not quite understand," he remarked, naïvely, in this volume, "why public opinion no longer occupies in my eyes the place that it did."

(*b*) *De la révolution française.* 4 vols. Paris, 1797. This work was completed in October, 1795. In a note in the first volume (p. xii.) Necker writes: "It will be noted that this work was finished at the end of 1795. Indecision on my part and some difficulty with the publishers retarded its appearance." This work, like the one published in 1791, was an apology for Necker's administration. The treatment of the royal session is fuller than in the first work, but the point of view is quite different.

(*c*) Letter of Necker to Louis XVI., *Archives nationales*, Paris, K, 162. Published by Loménie, *Les Mirabeau*, v, 411.

2. Barentin, *Mémoire autographe de M. de Barentin.* Paris, 1844. Barentin was born in 1738. He was guard

of the seals and Necker's chief opponent in the ministry. After the appearance of Necker's work, *De la révolution française*, Barentin wrote his volume to correct the incorrect statements concerning the royal session. It was not his intention to publish the work at the time of writing, but he wished to leave to the historian of the revolution material which would enable him to refute Necker's account. He charges that Necker knowingly falsified the facts. Necker and Barentin are the two principal, practically the only witnesses concerning what took place in the council meetings preceding the royal session. On many points they flatly contradict each other.

3. Saint-Priest. Letter to Louis XVI., *Archives nationales*, Paris, Musée, No. 1072. Published by Flammermont, *Revue historique*, XLVI, Mai-Juin, 1891. Saint-Priest was one of the ministers favorable to Necker.

4. Montmorin. Letter to Louis XVI., *Archives nationales*, Paris, Musée, No. 1088. Montmorin was minister of foreign affairs and belonged to Necker's party. He had been in office since the death of Vergennes in 1786. Published by Flammermont, *Revue historique*, XLVI.

5. *Procès-verbal*, No. 5. The official record of the meeting of the national assembly held after the royal session on June 23d.

6. *Séance tenue par le roi aux états généraux, le 23 Juin, 1789*. The official text of the speeches and declarations of the king delivered at the royal session. It was printed at the time by Baudoin, printer to the national assembly, and forms a pamphlet of sixteen pages.

7. *Point du jour*. See same title in the bibliography of Problem I.

8. *Assemblée nationale*. See same title in the bibliography of Problem I.

9. *Courrier de Provence.* This newspaper was for a few numbers edited by Mirabeau. This is the title by which it is generally known. It had two others; the first two numbers were called *États-généraux*, but when this paper had been suppressed by the government, the new paper, which began to appear the latter part of May, bore the title, *Lettres de M. le comte de Mirabeau à ses commettants.* At the end of July the title changed to *Courrier de Provence.* The paper appeared twice a week. Early in the history of the enterprise Mirabeau employed two men of ability, Swiss exiles from Geneva. They were Dumont and Duroveray. Dumont states (*Souvenirs sur Mirabeau, 102*) that, "beginning with the eleventh letter of Mirabeau to his constituents, it was always Duroveray or myself who edited them." The letter containing the account of the royal session is the thirteenth, but neither Dumont nor Duroveray could have supplied the material for it, as they were not members of the assembly, and no spectators were allowed to enter the hall on June 23d. The Comte de Mirabeau, representative of the third estate of Aix en Provence, was born in 1749. He was the most distinguished statesman and orator of the national assembly.

10. Biauzat, *Vie et correspondance.* See bibliography of Problem I.

11. Bailly, *Mémoires.* See bibliography of Problem I.

12. Duquesnoy, Adrien, *Journal.* See bibliography of Problem I.

13. Jallet, *Journal inédit.* Fontenay-le-comte, 1871. Jallet was a representative of the clergy of Poitou, and one of the *curés* who joined the third estate in response to the summons of June 10th. He wrote his journal from day to day, as shown by the expressions, "At the conference of yesterday" (p. 79) and "all that will be printed"

(speaking of the declarations of the royal session). Jallet died in August, 1791. Another member of the clergy, Grégoire, had made a copy of the journal, and it was from a copy of this copy—the property of M. Carnot—that the text was printed from which this translation was made.

14. Staël-Holstein, Baron de, *Correspondance diplomatique.* Paris, 1881. Staël-Holstein was the Swedish ambassador at the French court in 1789. He was the son-in-law of Necker, his wife being the famous Madame de Staël. On account of his wife, he was naturally a partisan of Necker's and not in sympathy with the court intrigues against him. The extract is from a letter written by the ambassador to the king of Sweden. The original of the letter is in the archives in Stockholm.

15. Bailli de Virieu, *Correspondance.* See bibliography of Problem I.

16. Jefferson, Thomas, *Memoirs, Correspondence, and Miscellanies from the Papers of Thomas Jefferson.* Edited by Thomas Jefferson Randolph. Second edition, Boston, 1830. Jefferson was the minister of the United States of America to the French court in 1789. He was in touch with the leading members of the assembly and in position to secure reliable information.

17. Barante, *Lettres et instructions de Louis XVIII. au Comte de Saint-Priest, précédées d'une notice par M. de Barante.* Paris, 1845. Concerning the material upon which this notice was based, Barante wrote: "In the last years of his life M. de Saint-Priest (died 1821) began to write his *Mémoires.* He was not able to finish them nor to revise what he had written. His family did not consider these fragments in form for publication; we have them before us and cannot do better than utilize them in writing this notice." Nothing in Barante's notice in-

dicates that the particular passage which we quote was taken from the notes of Saint-Priest; it is, however, a natural inference.

C. QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. How many of the witnesses quoted in this study had first-hand information touching the council meetings which preceded the royal session? Concerning the events of June 23d?
2. How many independent witnesses have we upon the council meetings? Upon the royal session of June 23d?
3. Compare Necker's account of 1791 with that of 1795, and show how they differ. Which account should be given the preference, and why?
4. What was the date (day of the month) of Necker's letter to the king? Of Saint-Priest's letter to the king?
5. Compare Necker's account of the councils with Barentin, and show how they differ. Which is the more reliable, and why?
6. How does the contents of Necker's letter to the king harmonize with the account of the council meetings found in the work written in 1795? With that written in 1791?
7. What is the relation of Bailly's *Mémoires* to the other sources? What is its value?
8. If Barante used nothing besides the notes of Saint-Priest in writing his notice upon Saint-Priest, how valuable would the notice be?
9. Is the *Courrier de Provence* dependent upon any of the other sources?
10. Are the accounts of Necker and Barentin independent of each other?
11. When did Necker make up his mind to propose a royal session to the king?
12. Were there any committee meetings before the council meetings?

13. How many council meetings were there, when and where were they held, who was present, and what was done?
14. What was the nature of Necker's original plan?
15. Who supported it and who opposed it?
16. What do you know of the state of Versailles on the morning of June 23d—that is, of the external setting of the royal session?
17. At what time did the session open, and how long did it last?
18. What were some of the significant things that happened at the hall before the arrival of the king?
19. How was the king received on his arrival?
20. Make an analysis of the speeches and declarations showing the attitude of the king toward the action of the commons, on June 17th, toward the old constitution, toward the privileges of the clergy and nobility, toward the control of the government by the estates general, toward the right of the estates to make laws, toward the annual or periodical meeting of the estates, toward publicity of debate, freedom of the press and of the individual.
21. What parts of the speeches and declarations would be acceptable to the conservatives, and why?
22. What parts would not be acceptable to the commons, and why?
23. What parts would be acceptable to all progressive men?
24. Upon what important matter are the declarations silent?
25. What was the criticism of the members of the commons on the session?
26. After the retirement of the king, who remained in the hall, and why?
27. Why did not the delegates in the hall at once open their session?
28. Determine, if you can, the truth about the workmen in the hall.
29. Describe the De Brézé incident: (*a*) when he entered; (*b*) to whom he spoke; (*c*) what he said; (*d*) what Bailly said to him; (*e*) whether Bailly or De Brézé or both

spoke to the assembly; (*f*) what they said; (*g*) when Mirabeau spoke; (*h*) what he said; (*j*) what De Brézé finally did.

30. When the assembly finally went into session: (*a*) what motions were made; (*b*) by whom; (*c*) in what order; (*d*) what was said in debate, and by whom; and (*e*) what was the final action of the assembly?

31. Work out carefully the incident of Necker's resignation: (*a*) did he resign; (*b*) did he intend to be present at the royal session; (*c*) what effect had the report of his resignation; (*d*) what did the king do; (*e*) what advantage did Necker draw from the action of the king; (*f*) how was the action received by the crowd and the deputies?

32. Was the royal session a success?

33. Make an outline and write a narrative on the royal session.

D. The Sources

1. (*a*) Necker, *Sur l'administration de M. Necker par lui-même*, 107–115.

The debate upon the verification of credentials continued to divide the three orders, and now there was added to this contest a still more violent conflict born of the wish of the commons for a single national assembly, and of the demands of the nobility and clergy for the maintenance of the deliberations by separate orders. All hopes of conciliation were lost, opinions grew ever more bitter, and the affairs of the state were at a standstill. Good citizens grew anxious over such a state of stagnation, and among partisans some hoped that the piling up of difficulties would lead to the dissolution of the states general; others that this state of confusion would serve as a pretext for the decisive measures which they were impatient to employ to change the constitution in its entirety.

The silence and inaction of the monarch in such circumstances would have shown a disregard of propriety and dignity. The king could not remain

indifferent to the dangers with which the state was menaced. He had unavailingly employed the mediation of his ministers to open the road to conciliation, and it was time for him to appear in some other way. I believed that he could do it with wisdom if, while reserving to the two first orders the right to deliberate separately upon matters peculiar and personal to them, he obliged them to unite with the commons in order to treat as a single body the general interests of the nation, and especially the future organization of national assemblies. I thought that at the same time the king ought, both for the good of the state and for his own policy, to confirm in an authentic manner his acquiescence in all the important matters announced in the *Résultat du conseil* of December 27, 1788, that he should extend his declaration still further and thus anticipate the wishes of the nation. I had included among other things, in this new profession of his beneficent views, the admission of all citizens to civil and military employment, the destruction of the rights of servitude, in imitation of what he had ordered in his own domains, the authorization of their purchase for money and some other objects of a similar nature, but always observing the rules of the most exact justice toward the proprietors. Finally the king, in speaking of the new constitution, should express himself solely upon the propriety and necessity of the maintenance of two chambers, and in other respects he would abide

by the views which were presented to him by the national assembly.

It followed from the ensemble of my ideas that the king, while preserving everything which pertained to his dignity and anticipating with prudence the law of necessity, would render the states general active, would serve the first two orders by giving them the means of renouncing honorably the absolute system they had embraced, and which circumstances did not permit them to maintain. The plan which I advised was without doubt difficult, but one was necessary, and above all one which would finally unite the orders in a single assembly and put an end in a regular or, at least, in a peaceable way to the state of division which at any moment might lead to the gravest misfortunes. Finally, I had accompanied the suggested articles making up this project by everything which might favor the success of them in public opinion; but to form a correct opinion of them to-day it would be necessary to be able to transport oneself by memory to the period at the beginning of June, 1789; it would be necessary to recall to mind exactly the uncertainty and the agitation, the fears and the hopes, finally the general state of opinion at this period, not far removed from the opening of the states general; but it would be difficult to draw the picture of it at the moment when a series of events has carried things much farther than the first step which I ad-

vised would have done. It is necessary to pardon the two first orders, or those who acted for them at court, for having shown so much irritation against a project which, with more foresight, they would have found very wise. I had only one moment of hope; it was when I presented to the council the ensemble of my ideas, and when the king listened favorably to them, for soon I was attacked from every point of view. The necessity of some action on the part of the king was universally agreed to, but it was desired that he should act in an entirely different spirit; and little by little, while appearing to retain a part of my plan, everything composing its essence was cut out, everything which might render it agreeable to the commons. They took here and there some of my phrases, at the beginning and at the end; but by a remarkable singularity the firm and lofty tone which was fitting when the monarch instructed the first two orders to unite with the commons to work for the welfare of the public, they believed equally applicable to a plan the spirit of which was absolutely different, and that was a great blunder.

I defended my idea, and I combated the new ones with the greatest force; I resisted courageously the opinions of the princes called to this discussion, and after having conserved to the last moment the hope of making reason triumph I finally considered the part remaining for me to take personally; and after

mature examination, after many mental struggles, which the gravity of the circumstances authorized, I did not believe that I could honorably either go to the session of June 23d or remain longer in the ministry. The position in which I found myself was quite as painful as it was embarrassing, and I must confess that on the morning of that memorable day my uneasiness still continued, and if I did not inform the king of my final determination it was because I feared to receive positive orders which I could not possibly have obeyed. . . .

I resisted the advice of many enlightened persons who, more in touch than I with the court and its intrigues, urged me to retire, assuring me that it would not be long before I would be the victim of the influence of the persons whose counsels had prevailed over mine on so grave and important an occasion.

I resisted likewise the insinuations of those who considered my retirement as the epoch of a great revolution and tried to make me understand that such a determination on my part could not fail to be followed by a brilliant triumph.

These same efforts were repeated with me, but in vain, when the inutility of my efforts to force the retirement of the ministers, whose opposition to my projects was openly pronounced, became known. My intimate friends will do me the justice to recognize that I was perfectly conscious of the dangers

by which I was surrounded. These dangers even were not new, as for a long time I had lived in the midst of disturbing circumstances of every kind. I saw also the extreme crisis in which we found ourselves in the matter of food supply, and I saw it so clearly that on returning to my lodgings, in the evening of June 23d, followed by the applause of the multitude, I said with emotion to the little group of friends gathered in my study: "*I remain. . . . But you see these people and the benedictions they shower upon me; very well, before two weeks, perhaps, they will shower me with stones.*"

(*b*) Necker, *De la révolution française*, I, 284–290.

It was, as I have said, at a time when the interference of the monarch in the states general appeared indispensable, and at a time when all ideas, still vacillating, kept the government in anxiety, that formed the project of a royal session. I hastened to communicate my ideas to the ministers who voted in the most intelligent manner, and they gave them a support which bordered upon enthusiasm. They found the idea courageous, the procedure prudent, and they told me so, they repeated it to me in a hundred different ways. There were afterward regular committee meetings with the king, where the whole affair was discussed, and a full and entire approbation on the part of the prince was joined to the then unanimous opinion of his ministers. A council of state was fixed for the last reading, and

this council was held at Marly, whither the king had just gone. The reading took place; one or two ministers made observations upon details of the plan, but without importance; and, an almost perfect agreement of opinions having reigned during the sitting of the council, it occupied itself with measures of execution, considered whether there would be need for more than twenty-four hours for the preparation of the hall where the royal majesty was to be displayed, and the absolute necessity of great haste was unanimously agreed upon. It only remained to fix the day, and the next day but one was almost agreed upon. A last word of the king was ending the council, and the portfolios were already being closed, when an officer of the king's household entered unexpectedly; he approached the seat of the king, spoke to him in a low tone, and his majesty immediately arose, commanding his ministers to remain in their places and await his return. This message, at the moment when the council was nearly at an end, could not but surprise us all. M. de Montmorin, seated by me, said to me immediately: "We have accomplished nothing; the queen alone would be permitted to interrupt the council of state; the princes have apparently won her over and wish to put off the decision of the king through her mediation." This presumption of M. de Montmorin was only too natural, for already confused rumors had announced that the journey to Marly had been de-

cided upon that the king might be controlled more easily and the plans of the ministry combated in his mind. Yet I doubted these reports, and, as had often happened to me, trusted to the force of reason the care of combating and obviating all these efforts of the court, that others called intrigues, believing that I knew well both their first causes and their first motives.

The king re-entered the council chamber after a half-hour's absence, and, postponing the deliberation with which we had just been occupied until a first meeting of the council of state, he suspended his decision, his orders, and everything was at a standstill. He was, however, told of the difficulties that would arise without fail from this delay; it was represented to him that the rumor of a division among the persons admitted to his confidence would weaken the ascendency of his authority; [we even] ventured to warn him that in the midst of the public fermentation hesitations and uncertainties would multiply suspicions and would also give to party leaders all the time necessary to prepare a redoubtable opposition. The king persisted in his determination. The new council of state was held two days after at Versailles, and his majesty judged it fitting to call there not only his ordinary ministers, but also the two princes, his brothers, and four magistrates who had never had a seat in the council.

We saw at once that a plan had been formed to

defeat our measures and to attack the project adopted by the ministry and approved by his majesty. Secret conferences had been held, the king had been worked upon, and already his opinion appeared changed. It was principally the union of the orders that they wished to prevent. I believe that I have shown its expediency and necessity, so I will not recall the arguments that I employed to plead this cause. The ministers then in office, most distinguished by their intellect and wisdom, sustained me with firmness, and at first only an uncertain advantage was gained over us. The king decided only, that to find a means of conciliating the different views discussed in his presence they should reassemble at the house of the guard of the seals, and one of the magistrates called to the council by way of exception was charged to consult with me more particularly. We saw one another. I yielded upon everything that was not an absolute necessity in my eyes; and yet each one of these compliances was painful to me, although I was persuaded that the fault of my project was its too great boldness under the circumstances. We separated after a detailed discussion, which ended by an entire accord. He appeared to me fully persuaded that no other change could be asked without changing the nature of the project, and I believed for the second time that everything was ended. I was mistaken. So much was done, and always on the same side, that in a

period of twice twenty-four hours, and on the eve of the royal session, the king was prevailed upon not to require the reunion of the orders, not to require it under any condition, and to adopt a system absolutely opposed.

(*c*) Necker, Letter to Louis XVI.

SIRE,—I have the honor to address to your Majesty a note by the person whom I named to the King yesterday under the seal of secrecy. I have been led to see some inconveniences connected with a royal session which I had not noted before, and it is believed that a simple letter of invitation (a letter inviting the orders to unite for the purpose of deliberating in common, at least on some matters) would be better; but there is not a moment to lose. I will explain myself more in detail to his Majesty, if he sees fit to give me his orders.

I have the honor, etc.,

Signed: NECKER.

Saturday.

2. Barentin, *Mémoire autographe*, 175–230.

His majesty, then at Marly, where he was to remain, as well as the queen, until the following Sunday morning, notified the ministers, Thursday, the 18th, of a council to be held the next day at noon. He ordered me to notify the four councilors of state, composing the commission of the states general, to be present. . . . All being assembled at Marly in the

king's study, the decree of the 17th was read. It was generally disapproved of, and it was agreed that it was impossible to let it stand. While we were considering means of action M. Necker, always desirous of taking the initiative, asked permission of the king to present two projects of declarations that he had prepared in advance, in case that his majesty should judge proper to hold a session; he had added the different speeches that he proposed to have the king deliver. . . . The time passed in the midst of these animated discussions; it was four o'clock; the matter called for the most mature consideration. His majesty adjourned the council until the next day, Saturday, at five o'clock, and instructed M. de la Galaisière to give an account in the council of the two projects, which he turned over to him. It was simply decided that the king should hold a session Monday, the 22d, in the large hall. . . .

M. de la Galaisière, in preparing his report, discovered a pitfall adroitly arranged to prepare the destruction of the orders. In the grouping of his plan the minister had divided the objects into two classes. The first contained those susceptible of deliberation by order; the second embraced those upon which the deliberation would be in common. He had placed in this last, in few words and in a way not to attract attention, the organization of the future states general. . . . The reporter made known to me Saturday morning his discovery. . . . It ap-

peared too important to us to allow him not to mention it that evening at the council meeting. He spoke of it calmly, furnishing M. Necker the means of escaping from the bad position which he had taken. In fact, M. de la Galaisière assumed that the place assigned to this article in the list of common deliberations, when it evidently pertained to those by order, could be due only to a mistake of the copyist which had escaped the eye of the minister, an error easily repaired by putting the article where it belonged. The turn was ingenious, and the king caught it without, however, being deceived as to the intention of the redacteur of the project, for he made a movement of impatience and discontent. The director general noted it, and was on the point of making use of the subterfuge offered him, but a sudden second thought made him see that in yielding his plan, based upon the confusion of the orders, would be ruined completely. He insisted, with a tenacity which astonished us, that the place of the article should not be changed. This insistence displeased the king. With a display of vivacity he took the paper from the hands of the reporter, struck out the article, and wrote it in the list of those relative to vote by order. . . . M. Necker proposed "for this time, and without establishing a precedent, to prescribe deliberation by head." I asserted that such a disposition, even for one time and without establishing a precedent, would violate the forms

introduced at the birth of the monarchy. . . . I was supported by MM. de Villedeuil, de Puységur, and by the councilors of state. Another article stated "that one could attain to all civil and military employments without regard to class distinction." . . . The king himself on hearing this article had blamed M. Necker with firmness for having spoken of the army of which he was the sole master, and of which he could dispose at pleasure. . . . It should not be forgotten that the motive of the meeting of the council, the determination to hold a royal session, the content of the two groups of laws we were considering, were due to the deliberation of June 17th, by which the third estate had declared itself a national assembly. It ought to be expected, then, that the king, being no longer able to mistake the veritable intentions of this culpable order, would recall them to obedience, would scourge with merited qualifications a bold, illegal, and unconstitutional act. No, M. Necker, always inclined to partiality, always decided not to displease men emboldened by his protection, forgot himself to the extent of attempting to palliate, to excuse their crimes. He did not go to the extent of annulling their decree, he contented himself with proposing "to declare [the royal purpose], overlooking the acts of June 17th." [Barentin took the other side. He described the meeting of the tennis court, then taking place.] The session was not over when I left Versailles; if we are igno-

rant of the end of it, it is only too probable that it will be a new outrage for the royal majesty. . . . Everything, then, commands to annul, with fitting qualifications, the deliberation of June 17th and that which has followed it. . . . The king, calm during the whole of this discussion, did not lose a word of it. It was so prolonged that at ten o'clock his majesty had not yet begun to get the expression of opinion which decided him to postpone the council until the next day, Sunday, at five o'clock, at Versailles, to which he was to transfer his residence. He observed that, as nothing was settled, it was necessary to postpone the session twenty-four hours, and set it for Tuesday, the 23d, in order to give more exact form and more attention to the redaction [of the declarations].

When we met Sunday in the king's apartments, we learned that he had just summoned his brothers and that he was with them in his room. After a conference of half an hour they all came in together, and the king announced that the two princes would take part in the council. M. Lambert, councilor of state and member of the council of despatches, was also called. He had not been present at Marly. The princes had not been present at the previous councils. . . .

The princes not having been present at the previous councils, it became necessary to repeat all that had been said and done. The reporter made a very

clear résumé of it; on both sides each defended his opinion with that force inspired by the strong conviction of the peril involved in adopting any other. . . . M. Necker ended by testifying his fear touching the proposed changes. "It will change the laws to such an extent," he cried, "that it would be better to reject them than to adopt them disfigured and mutilated."

M. de Montmorin, . . . closely allied with M. Necker, thought only of flying to his aid.

MM. de la Luzerne and de Saint-Priest seconded, it is true, the errors of the minister of finance, but they did it dispassionately and in very gentlemanly language. . . . With the exception of M. Necker and the three ministers who thought as he did, all the members of the council were of one opinion. The king adopted that of the majority. . . . Before adjourning the council the king instructed me to reformulate the matter, with the aid of the four councilors, and, for the purpose of listening to the reading of it, set a council meeting for the next day at five o'clock. The royal session was definitely set for June 23d. . . .

Our work was finished Monday morning. I wanted M. Necker to see it before it was presented to the council. . . . [M. Vidaud de la Tour, one of the councilors, was sent to lay the reorganized material before Necker.] M. Necker received him haughtily and treated him coldly. He hardly listened to the two declarations, and made no observations. At the opening of the council (June 22d) I

presented a summary of the original projects and the changes ordered by the king, and the manner in which we had executed his orders. The two laws were read and approved by his majesty. M. Necker said nothing or very little. . . . He [Necker] insisted that the meetings of states general should be periodic; we insisted with equal force that they should not be. Assemblies at fixed periods amounted to the abandonment, on the part of the monarch, of the royal prerogative to convoke and dissolve the states general; we considered it indispensable to conserve it. . . . The councils at Marly were not preceded by committee meetings relative to the declarations of June 23d. . . . The council was nearing its end when his majesty, who had received a whispered message, withdrew, asking us to wait. . . . When the king withdrew he had not yet reached a decision. . . . His majesty, on his return, adjourned the council until the next day, Sunday, and not for two days, as is alleged by the minister of finance. At the same time the royal session was changed from the 22d to the 23d. . . . M. Necker had intended to be present at the session, and his carriage waited a long time in the court. . . . Madame Necker dismissed the carriage, and Necker did not go out.

3. Saint-Priest, Letter to Louis XVI., without place or date.

SIRE,—Your Majesty deigned to ask me yesterday my opinion upon the project presented by M.

Necker, and more especially upon the proposition to order the first two orders to unite with the third to vote by head upon matters that do not interest each order in particular, and upon some other reserved points. Your brothers were of a contrary opinion, and held that the constitution of the kingdom should not be altered in any way, a principle that they applied to the form of voting under discussion. . . . I will not conceal from Your Majesty the fear that I have that the third estate, aroused as it is, will reject, for the vote by head, these reservations, so just, that are placed upon it; I fear even that they will murmur at the sovereign interference of Your Majesty at this time, such appears to me to be the feeling of the third estate, which has already led it to exceed the limits of its instructions and of justice. . . . We are only four ministers of state, men of age and experience, trained in considering both the domestic and the foreign affairs of the kingdom, and our opinions are unanimous in favor of the proposition made by one of us.

4. Montmorin, Letter to the king.

Versailles, June 22, 1789.

SIRE,—The object upon which Your Majesty is going to decide finally this morning is so important, the decision He is going to take may have such far-reaching consequences, that my attachment for the person of Your Majesty forces me to place them again before his eyes in advance of the moment

when He is to make his final decision. . . . It is under these circumstances that it is proposed to Your Majesty to maintain with a firm hand the old constitution. . . . I am certainly very far from approving or excusing the conduct of the third estate; no one in the world condemns it more than I do and is more afflicted by it; but, however extravagant and however condemnable it may be, the public judges it quite differently. Supported by this opinion, the third estate will not abandon the defense it has constructed; it will grow more bitter against the first two orders; it will disobey the orders of Your Majesty, and He will have compromised his authority uselessly. He will be forced to dissolve the states general, and Your Majesty has seen what would be the consequences of it; perhaps, even, the third estate would not allow itself to be dissolved. From that time disorder and trouble would be at their height, and Your Majesty has seen what means remain with which to repress them. The plan that has been proposed to Your Majesty is noble, grand, and it seems to me the only one worthy of the character and kindness of Your Majesty.

5. *Procès-verbal,* No. 5.

CONTINUATION OF THE MINUTES OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Tuesday, June 23, 1789, eleven A.M.

The session held in the presence of the king, the

clergy, and the nobility being united in the national hall.

The king having entered, delivered a discourse announcing the object of the session. He then had read by one of the secretaries of state a declaration, containing various provisions, in fifteen articles, given at Versailles, the 23d of June.

After the reading of this declaration the king delivered a second discourse, which was followed by the reading, by one of the secretaries of state, of a second declaration, announced as the "Declaration of the Wishes of the King." It contained thirty-five articles, and was likewise given at Versailles, the 23d of June.

The king delivered a third discourse and retired.

A short time after the withdrawal of the king, a part of the clergy and nobility having retired, the grand master of ceremonies approached the president and told him that he had heard the order of the king to retire. The president replied to him that he could not separate the assembly, as it had not deliberated freely upon the subject. The grand master of ceremonies said that he was going to give an account of this reply to the king.

The assembly, deliberating after the royal session, passed the following resolutions:

"The national assembly unanimously declares its intention to persist in its preceding resolutions."

"The national assembly declares that the person

of each of the deputies is inviolable; that all individuals, all corporations, tribunal, court, or commission that shall dare, during or after the present session, to pursue, to seek for, to arrest or have arrested, detain or have detained, a deputy, by reason of any propositions, advice, opinions, or discourse made by him in the states general; as well as all persons who shall lend their aid to any of the said attempts, by whomsoever they may be ordered, are infamous and traitors to the nation, and guilty of capital crime. The national assembly decrees that in the aforesaid cases it will take all the necessary measures to have sought out, pursued, and punished those who may be its authors, instigators, or executors." Moreover, the assembly adjourned the session until to-morrow at nine o'clock.

These resolutions were passed in the presence of several of the clergy. Those whose credentials were verified gave their votes and their opinions; and the others asked that mention be made of their presence.

Bailly, President; Camus, Secretary; Pison du Galland, Jr., Secretary.

6. *Séance tenue par le roi aux états généraux, le 23 Juin, 1789.*

DISCOURSE OF THE KING

Gentlemen,—I believed that I had done everything in my power for the good of my people, when I had taken the resolution to call you together; when

I had surmounted all the difficulties with which your convocation was surrounded; when I had gone half-way, so to speak, to meet the wishes of the nation, by showing beforehand what I wished to do for its happiness.

It seemed as though you had only to finish my work, and the nation awaited with impatience the moment when by conjuncture of the beneficent views of its sovereign and the intelligent zeal of its representatives, it was going to enjoy the prosperity that this union procures for it.

The states general have been in session for nearly two months, and they have not yet been able to come to an understanding upon the preliminaries of their operations. A perfect intelligence ought to have been born from mere love of country, and a baneful division fills all minds with alarm. I wish to believe and I like to think that the French are not changed. But, to avoid reproaching any of you, I assume that the renewing of the states general, after so long a term, the agitation which preceded it, the object of this convocation, so different from that which brought your ancestors together, the limitations in the instructions, and many other circumstances, were bound necessarily to induce opposition, debates, and exaggerated pretensions.

I owe it to the common good of my kingdom, I owe it to myself to cause these baneful divisions to cease. It is with this resolution, gentlemen, that I

assemble you again about me; it is as the common father of all my subjects, as the defender of the laws of my kingdom, that I come to trace again their true spirit and repress the attacks which have been aimed at them.

But, gentlemen, after having clearly established the respective rights of the different orders, I expect with the love of country of the first two orders, I expect with their attachment for my person, I expect with the knowledge that they have of the urgent evils of the state, that in affairs which concern the general good they will be the first to propose a union of opinion and sentiment, which I regard as necessary in the actual crisis, which ought to effect the safety of the state.

Declaration of the King concerning the Present Session of the States General, June 23, 1789

I

The king wishes that the ancient distinction of the three orders of the state be preserved in its entirety, as essentially linked to the constitution of his kingdom; that the deputies, freely elected by each of the three orders, forming three chambers, deliberating by order, and being able, with the approval of the sovereign, to agree to deliberate in common, can alone be considered as forming the body of the representatives of the nation. As a result, the king

has declared null the resolutions passed by the deputies of the order of the third estate, the 17th of this month, and likewise illegal and unconstitutional those which followed them.

II

His majesty declares valid all the credentials verified or to be verified in each chamber, upon which there has not been raised nor will be raised any contest; his majesty orders that these be communicated by each order respectively to the other two orders.

As for the credentials which might be contested in each order, and upon which the parties interested would appeal, it will be enacted, for the present session only of the states general, as will be hereafter ordered.

III

The king sets aside and annuls, as anti-constitutional, contrary to the letters of convocation, and opposed to the interest of the state, the limitations of instructions which, by embarrassing the liberty of the deputies to the states general, would prevent them from adopting the forms of deliberation taken separately by order or in common, by the distinct wish of the three orders.

IV

If, contrary to the intention of the king, some of the deputies have taken the rash vow not to deviate

from any form of deliberation whatever, his majesty leaves it to their conscience to consider whether the provisions that he is going to present deviate from the letter or from the spirit of the promise that they may have taken.

V

The king permits the deputies who believe that they are embarrassed by their instructions to ask their constituents for new credentials; but his majesty enjoins them to remain in the states general while waiting, in order to be present at all the deliberations upon the pressing affairs of the state and to give consultative advice.

VI

His majesty declares that in the following sessions of the states general he will never suffer the *cahiers* or the instructions to be considered imperative; they should be only simple instructions confided to the conscience and free opinion of the deputies who may have been chosen.

VII

His majesty having exhorted the three orders, for the safety of the state, to unite during this session of estates only, to deliberate in common upon affairs of general utility, wishes to make his intentions known upon the manner of procedure.

VIII

There will be particularly excepted from the affairs which can be treated in common those that concern the ancient and constitutional rights of the three orders, the form of constitution to give the next states general, the feudal and seignorial rights, the useful rights and honorary prerogatives of the two first orders.

IX

The especial consent of the clergy will be necessary for all provisions which could interest religion, ecclesiastical discipline, the régime of the orders and secular and regular bodies.

X

The decisions reached by the three orders united, upon the contested credentials, and upon which the interested parties would appeal to the states general, shall be reached by a majority vote; but, if two-thirds of the votes, in one of the three orders, protested against the deliberation of the assembly, the affair will be reported to the king, to be definitely decided by his majesty.

XI

If, with the view of facilitating the union of the three orders, they desired that the proposition that shall have been considered in common should pass

only by a majority of two-thirds of the votes, his majesty is disposed to authorize this form.

XII

The affairs which will have been decided in the assembly of the three orders united will be taken up again the next day for deliberation, if one hundred members of the assembly unite to ask for it.

XIII

The king desires that, under these circumstances and to restore a conciliatory spirit, the three chambers commence by naming separately a commission composed of the number of deputies that they may judge suitable, to prepare the form and composition of the conference committee, which shall treat the different affairs.

XIV

The general assembly of the deputies of the three orders will be presided over by the presidents chosen by each of the orders and according to their ordinary rank.

XV

Good order, decency, and liberty of the ballot even, require that his majesty forbid, as he expressly does, that any person other than the members of the three orders comprising the states general should be present at their deliberations, whether they deliberate in common or separately.

The Royal Session of June 23, 1789

DISCOURSE OF THE KING

I have also wished, gentlemen, to have placed again under your eyes the different benefits that I grant to my people. It is not to circumscribe your zeal in the circle that I am going to trace; for I shall adopt with pleasure every other view of public good which will be proposed by the states general. I can say without deluding myself that never has a king done so much for any nation; but what other can better have merited by its sentiments, than the French nation! I do not fear to say it; those who, by exaggerated pretensions, or by unseasonable difficulties, would still retard the effect of my paternal intentions, would render themselves unworthy of being regarded as French.

Declaration of the Intentions of the King

I

No new tax shall be established, no old one shall be continued beyond the term fixed by the laws, without the consent of the representatives of the nation.

II

The new taxes which will be established, or the old ones which will be continued, shall hold only for the interval which will elapse until the time of the following session of the states general.

III

As the borrowing of money might lead to an increase of taxes, no money shall be borrowed without the consent of the states general, under the condition, however, that in case of war, or other national danger, the sovereign shall have the right to borrow without delay, to the amount of one hundred millions; for it is the formal intention of the king never to make the safety of his empire dependent upon any person.

IV

The states general shall examine with care the situation of the finances, and they shall demand all the information necessary to enlighten them perfectly.

V

The statement of receipts and expenses shall be made public each year, in a form proposed by the states general and approved by his majesty.

VI

The sums attributed to each department shall be determined in a fixed and invariable manner, and the king submits to this general rule even the funds that are destined for the maintenance of his household.

VII

The king wishes, in order to assure this fixity of the different expenses of the state, that provisions suitable to accomplish this object be suggested to him by the states general; and his majesty will adopt them if they are in accordance with the royal dignity and the indispensable celerity of the public service.

VIII

The representatives of a nation faithful to the laws of honor and probity will make no attack upon public credit, and the king expects from them that the confidence of the creditors of the state be assured in the most authentic manner.

IX

When the formal dispositions announced by the clergy and the nobility, to renounce their pecuniary privileges, will have become a reality by their deliberations, it is the intention of the king to sanction them, and there will no longer exist any kind of privileges or distinctions in the payment of taxes.

X

The king wishes that, to consecrate a disposition so important, the name of *taille* be abolished in the kingdom, and that this tax be joined either to the *vingtièmes*, or to any other land tax, or finally that

it be replaced in some way, but always in just and equal proportions and without distinction of estate, rank, and birth.

XI

The king wishes that the tax of *franc-fief* be abolished from the time when the revenues and fixed expenses of the state exactly balance.

XII

All rights, without exception, shall be constantly respected, and his majesty expressly understands under the name of rights, tithes, rents, annuities, feudal and seignorial rights, and, in general, all the rights and prerogatives, useful or honorary, attached to lands and fiefs or pertaining to persons.

XIII

The first two orders of the state shall continue to enjoy exemption from personal charges, but the king would be pleased to have the states general consider means of converting this kind of charges into pecuniary contributions and that then all the orders of the state may be subjected equally to them.

XIV

It is the intention of his majesty to determine, in accord with the states general, what the employments and duties shall be which will preserve in the future the privilege of giving and transmitting

nobility. His majesty, nevertheless, according to the inherent right of his crown, will grant titles of nobility to those of his subjects who by services rendered to the king or to the state shall show themselves worthy of this recompense.

XV

The king, desiring to assure the personal liberty of all citizens in the most solid and durable manner, invites the states general to seek for and to propose to him the means that may be most fitting to conciliate the orders, known under the name of *lettres de cachet*, with the maintenance of public security and with the precautions necessary in some cases to guard the honor of families, to repress with celerity the beginning of sedition, or to guarantee the state from the effects of criminal negotiations with foreign powers.

XVI

The states general shall examine and make known to his majesty the means most fitting to reconcile the liberty of the press with the respect due to religion, custom, and the honor of the citizens.

XVII

There shall be established in the different provinces or generalities of the kingdom, provincial estates composed thus: two-tenths of the members of the clergy, a part of whom will necessarily be chosen in

the episcopal order; three-tenths of members of the nobility, and five-tenths of members of the third estate.

XVIII

The members of these provincial estates shall be freely elected by the respective orders, and a certain amount of property shall be necessary to be an elector or eligible.

XIX

The deputies to these provincial estates shall deliberate in common upon all affairs, following the usage observed in the provincial assemblies, which these estates shall replace.

XX

An intermediary commission, chosen by these estates, shall administer the affairs of the province, during the interval from one session to another, and these intermediary commissions, becoming alone responsible for their conduct, shall have for delegates persons chosen wholly by them or the provincial estates.

XXI

The states general shall propose to the king their views upon all the other parts of interior organization of the provincial estates, and upon the choice of forms applicable to the election of the members of this assembly.

XXII

Independently of the objects of administration with which the provincial assemblies are charged, the king will confide to the provincial estates the administration of the hospitals, prisons, charity stations, foundling homes, the inspection of the expenses of the cities, the surveillance over the maintenance of the forests, the protection and sale of the wood, and over other objects which could be more usefully administered by the provinces.

XXIII

The disputes occurring in the province where ancient estates exist and the protests that have arisen against the constitution of the assemblies ought to claim the attention of the states general; they shall make known to his majesty the dispositions of justice and wisdom that it is suitable to adopt to establish a fixed order in the administration of these same provinces.

XXIV

The king invites the states general to occupy themselves in the quest of the proper means to turn to account the most advantageously the domains which are in his hands, and to propose to him equally their views upon what can be done the most conveniently with the domains that have been leased.

XXV

The states general will consider the project conceived a long time ago by his majesty, of transferring the collection of tariffs to the frontiers of the kingdom, in order that the most perfect liberty may reign in the internal circulation of national or foreign merchandise.

XXVI

His majesty desires that the unfortunate effects of the impost upon salt and the importance of this revenue be carefully discussed, and that in all the substitutions means of lightening the collection may at least be proposed.

XXVII

His majesty wishes also that the advantages and incoveniences of the internal revenue tax on liquors and other taxes be carefully examined, but without losing sight of the absolute necessity of assuring an exact balance between the revenues and expenses of the state.

XXVIII

According to the wish that the king manifested by his declaration of the 23d of last September, his majesty will examine with serious attention the plans which may be presented to him relative to the administration of justice and to the means of perfecting the civil and criminal laws.

XXIX

The king wishes that the laws that he will have promulgated during the session, and after the advice or according to the wish of the states general, may experience in their registration and execution no delay nor any obstacle in all the extent of his kingdom.

XXX

His majesty wishes that the use of the *corvée* for the making and maintenance of the roads be entirely and forever abolished in this kingdom.

XXXI

The king desires that the abolition of the right of *main-morte*, of which his majesty has given the example in his domains, be extended to all France, and that means be proposed to him for providing the indemnity which would be due the lords in possession of this right.

XXXII

His majesty will make known at once to the states general the regulations with which he occupies himself for the purpose of restricting the *capitaineries*, to give, furthermore, in this connection, which touches the most nearly his own pleasures, a new proof of his love for his people.

XXXIII

The king invites the states general to consider the drafting for the army in all its relations and to study the means of reconciling what is due to the defense of the state, with the extenuations that his majesty desires to procure for his subjects.

XXXIV

The king wishes that all the dispositions of public order and of kindness toward his people, that his majesty will have sanctioned by his authority, during the present session of the states general, those among others, relative to personal liberty, equality of taxation, the establishment of provincial estates, may never be changed without the consent of the three orders, given separately. His majesty places them in the same rank with the national properties, that like all other property, he wishes to place under the most assured protection.

XXXV

His majesty, after having called the states general to study, together with him, great matters of public utility and everything which can contribute to the happiness of his people, declares in the most express manner that he wishes to preserve in its entirety and without the least impairment the constitution of the army, as well as every authority, both police

authority and power over the militia, such as the French monarchs have constantly enjoyed.

DISCOURSE OF THE KING

You have, gentlemen, heard the substance of my dispositions and of my wishes; they are conformable to the earnest desire that I have for the public welfare; and if, by a fatality far from my thoughts, you should abandon me in so fine an enterprise, alone I will assure the well-being of my people, alone I will consider myself as their true representative; and knowing your *cahiers*, knowing the perfect accord which exists between the most general wish of the nation and my kindly intentions, I will have all the confidence which so rare a harmony ought to inspire, and I will advance toward the goal I wish to attain with all the courage and firmness it ought to inspire in me.

Reflect, gentlemen, that none of your projects, none of your dispositions can have the force of a law without my special approbation. So I am the natural guarantee of your respective rights and all the orders of the state can depend upon my equitable impartiality. All distrust upon your part would be a great injustice. It is I, at present, who am doing everything for the happiness of my people, and it is rare, perhaps, that the only ambition of a sovereign is to come to an understanding with his subjects that they may accept his kindnesses.

I order you, gentlemen, to separate immediately and to go to-morrow morning, each to the chamber allotted to your order, in order to take up again your sessions. I order, therefore, the grand master of ceremonies to have the halls prepared.

7. *Le point du jour*, No. VI, June 24, 1789.

First of all the two privileged orders were seated; the national assembly testified its discontent by reiterated murmurs. The two secretaries went to M. de Brézé to complain of the indecency of so long a delay, saying that the assembly was going to withdraw. The murmurs began afresh; the president rapped on the door; M. de Guiche appeared; a vigorous complaint was made because of so long a delay; M. de Brézé was called for.

It was proposed that the assembly withdraw. M. de Brézé arrived. The president said that he should complain to the king of the shortcomings of the master of ceremonies. "Of us, sir?" said M. de Brézé. "Yes, sir. It is high time that we were seated." The master of ceremonies preceded the president, and the members of the national assembly entered two by two in the most profound silence at half past ten.

The throne was placed at the back of the hall in the direction of the entrance of the Menus; at the right were the clergy, at the left the nobility, and on the two sides, extending from the middle to the end of the hall, were the members of the national assem-

bly. The four heralds and the king at arms were placed in the center. The throne of the king was raised upon a platform that occupied the back of the hall as far as the second column. At the base of the platform, around a table, several ministers were grouped; M. Necker was not among them. . . .

[Here follows an abridged account of the speeches of the king and of the contents of the two series of declarations.]

The king having gone out, the nobility and the prelates retired. The members of the commons remained. . . .

No. VII, June 25, 1789.

After the departure of the king several *curés* and all the members of the national assembly remained motionless in the seats that they occupied. A quarter of an hour later the Marquis de Brézé, the grand master of ceremonies, approached the president and asked him if he had not heard the orders of the king. The president replied to him: "Sir, be good enough to address the assembly that has decided that it must deliberate." M. de Brézé did not reappear. A mournful silence reigned in the assembly.

M. Camus took the floor, saying: "The authority of the deputies forming this assembly is recognized; it is also recognized that a free nation may not be taxed without its consent; you have, then, done what you should have done. If, at our first advance,

we are arrested, what will happen in the future? We must persist. Nothing is more dangerous than reserves and protestations; this form destroys all rights. Of what are we witnesses? At the opening of the estates, absolute orders. . . ."

M. Barnave said: "Your action depends on your situation, your decrees depend upon you alone. You have declared what you are; you have no need of sanction. The voting of the taxes depends upon you alone. Envoys of the nation, organs of its will to make a constitution, you are the national assembly, and may remain assembled as long as you may judge necessary in the interests of your constituents. Such was your situation yesterday. What has been done to-day? Is it, then, in keeping with your prudence to abandon the cause of the public thus? Nothing remains for the executive power to do but to separate you, but it is due to your dignity to maintain your position, to persist in the use of the title national assembly. Leave no doubts in the minds of your fellow citizens. You do not know, gentlemen, where force would conduct you and perhaps the public indignation that would crush you. . . ."

M. de Glaizen, deputy from Rennes, having spoken of the indiscreet applause of some members of the two first orders, added: "Absolute power speaks through the mouth of the best of kings, through the mouth of a sovereign, who recognized that the peo-

ple ought to make the laws. . . . It is a bed of justice held in a national assembly. It is a sovereign who speaks as a master, when he ought to ask advice. . . . Let the aristocrats triumph; they have only a day. The prince will soon be enlightened. No, the prince will not persist in his course. It is liberty that we ought to maintain—the greatness of your courage will equal the greatness of the circumstances, it is necessary to die for the country—you have deliberated wisely, gentlemen. An arbitrary act that is about to ruin the kingdom, that is about to produce anarchy, ought not to terrify you."

M. de Mirabeau, in supporting the motion of M. Camus, said that he blessed liberty because it ripened such fine fruit in the national assembly; that he was of the opinion that a decree declaring the inviolability of the deputies ought to be passed. "Such a course," he said, "would not be a manifestation of fear, but an act of prudence, a check upon the violent counsels that surround the throne."

M. Pétion de Villeneuve took the floor to support the two motions: "An arbitrary act has severed the knot already fastened by the clergy. . . . No consideration without liberty. Our safety lies in firmness."

M. Buzot said that he would say little, that indignation is not verbose. "The national assembly," he added, "may not commit perjury. . . . What an assault upon the liberty of the states general!"

M. l'abbé Sieyès contented himself with saying, "Gentlemen, you are to-day what you were yesterday."

M. Garat, the elder, spoke at length on the articles contained in the king's declaration, endeavoring to show that they were only an adroit trick to turn the people against their deputies. He spoke with as much sense as force.

M. l'abbé Grégoire spoke with energy, and pretended that to continue to work on the constitution would be to fall in with the views of the king, who was still deceived by those around him.

At half past two a standing vote was taken on the motion of M. Camus. The national assembly declared unanimously that it persisted in maintaining its previous decrees. The members of the clergy asked "that it be noted that the deliberation had taken place in their presence."

The vote was taken in the presence of several officers of the French guards and of some gentlemen, deputies of the nobility, who had remained quiet spectators of the scene.

The motion of M. de Mirabeau upon the inviolability of the persons of the deputies having passed by a majority vote, the following decree was framed:

[Here follows the text of the decree.]

Passed by a majority of four hundred and eighty-six votes against thirty-four.

8. *L'assemblée nationale*, I, 197–206. Royal session of the 23d.

The deputies betook themselves at the hour indicated to the usual meeting place. At last they found the doors open and entered. On all sides armed men had been placed; in the antechambers, in the corridors which surround the hall, finally almost among the benches upon which the deputies sit, everywhere sentinels were found.

These precautions would have been insufficient; in Grand Chantier Street, upon the Avenue de Paris, there were battalions of French guards, of Swiss, of guards of the city hall, and many members of the country police, who continually walked their beat, circulated about the hall and in the environs, prevented the formation of groups and carried their audacity to the point of separating deputies who came to the hall together. In the space of the eighth of a league there were more than four thousand armed men. . . . The king at eleven o'clock left the château; the carriages of the Duc d'Orleans came first; the Duc de Chartres was in one, the comtes de Provence and d'Artois, with his two children, were in the carriage of the king. Several people from Paris, who had gone to Versailles, encouraged, in a certain sense, by the circular letter of M. Necker, cried, "*Vive le roi!*" The carriage of the king was preceded and followed by officers of the falconry, pages, squires, and finally by four companies of the body

guard. Besides these troops there was in the neighborhood of Versailles six regiments; the purpose was, it is said, to reduce the price of bread, because the deputies pay too much for it. One ought, without doubt, to be very grateful to the court for its paternal cares. . . . To-day silence reigned in the hall. . . . They [the deputies] rose at the entrance of the king, then seated themselves and put on their hats. This movement led the guard of the seals to say that the king permitted the assembly to seat itself. The deputies recognized M. Linguet among them, and he was put out. M. Paporet, king's secretary, died in the hall. The king delivered his speech. . . . The guard of the seals then ascended to the king's seat, and after having fallen on one knee, ordered the reading of a first declaration. . . . The king, after this first declaration, spoke again. . . . This declaration [the second], which is at present only a rough draft, treats of two objects. . . . The king spoke again, after which he retired. Some bishops, who without doubt had influenced the action of the king, applauded and cried, *Vive le roi!* but these cries died on their lips. The most of the bishops and some curates, with all the nobility, retired by the same door which had been opened for the king. As to the members of the national assembly, without having any previous understanding, and as if animated by the same spirit, they all remained seated.

The king sent his master of ceremonies to say to

M. Bailly that the assembly was to retire. The grand master delivered the order of the king in a low voice. There were cries of *Louder! louder!* and the assembly had scarcely heard the mission of the deputy of the king, when it cried almost unanimously, "*No! no! only force can make us withdraw from here!*" M. Pison du Galand thereupon took the floor. He showed that it was necessary to persist in the decree of Saturday, M. Barnave was of the same opinion, but M. Camus went further.

Motion of M. Camus

"For us to fix upon the decree of Saturday would be, so to speak, to abandon all we had done before; it is necessary then to vote that we persist in all our deliberations passed up to this day." This decree was adopted unanimously. M. de Mirabeau proposed the following decree:

Decrèe of M. de Mirabeau

[Text of Mirabeau's motion on inviolability.]

This second decree passed by a majority of four hundred and eighty-five against thirty-four votes. The Abbé Sieyès made a motion tending to prove that the assemblies ought to be free and public, and that the king did not have the authority or the right to render them secret. This motion also was adopted with enthusiasm. Finally the session of

the national assembly ended at three o'clock, after having ordered that the *procès-verbal* of the assembly should be printed that day.

9. *Courrier de Provence* (*Lettres de M. le comte de Mirabeau à ses commettants*, No. XIII.)

Finally the 23d all the machinery of arbitrary power is displayed; a large guard surrounds the hall of the states general, barriers are established; and at a time when everything ought to inspire confidence the only thought is to impart terror. The door of the hall is opened again to the representatives of the nation, but it is severely forbidden to the public. The king appears. A gloomy silence is observed; he does not receive that accustomed tribute of vows and of homage which announce to him the contentment of his people and which he will always obtain when perfidious counsel does not mislead his judgment. To what a degree must it not have been deceived to adopt forms so despotic after having solemnly adjured despotism!

We do not fear to say it, suggestions foreign to his majesty are recognized clearly in the discourses that he has pronounced in the royal session. These discourses are public, and without doubt it is permitted to discuss the principles which they contain, principles that his majesty would never have sustained if he were not surrounded by aristocrats and ministers sworn to despotism. We are all the more authorized to believe it because one finds in these

discourses expressions truly paternal, maxims of public good which contrast with the formulas of tyranny.

In the opening speech of the session his majesty prides himself that the two privileged orders will be the first to propose a union of opinion and sentiment that he regards as necessary in the present crisis.

In the declaration the king orders that three chambers be formed and that deliberation be by order. Are not these two arrangements contradictory? Can one expect this union which is so desirable of opinion and sentiment while deliberating by orders? Moreover, did the ministers believe then that in speaking to the national assembly it was permissible for the king to make use of the imperative expressions which have been for so long a time abused in the *lits de justice?* Can the king annul the deliberation of the national assembly? Even in admitting the royal veto, is not this right limited to a simple opposition to the decrees of this assembly; opposition which, in any case, could not be relative to its interior régime, and which by its very denomination excludes the right of setting aside or annulling?

If any one doubted that the aristocrats had drawn up this declaration under the name of the king, or rather the statutes confirmative of their tyrannical privileges, let him read articles VIII and IX; he will there see that great care has been shown to take

away the national will, the reform of the seignorial abuses, and that the special consent of the clergy will be necessary for all arrangements which would interest religion, ecclesiastical discipline, the régime of the orders and secular and regular bodies.

But are not these objects of general interest, and should there be a question of particular interest in a national assembly? Should those who have particular interests to defend present themselves there? Let them address petitions if they believe their pretensions legitimate; but an opposition of private interest against the general interest is a monstrous thing, and consequently it cannot be the intention of the king.

No more can it be in accord with his views that the public be excluded from the sessions. Why should we keep the knowledge of our deliberations from it? What do these words "decency," "good order," mean, stated in article XV? Here the indecency would be in the mystery, the disorder, in the secret of our operations. This irregular prohibition could have been imagined only by those who fear that their guilty manœuvers may be unveiled and who could not show themselves without blushing.

After this declaration of imperative wishes, the king pronounced a discourse, in which this strange sentence was noticed: "I have also wished, gentlemen, to bring to your attention again, the different

favors that I grant my people"; as if the rights of the people were favors of kings! Then a declaration of the intentions of the king was read, in which some are found truly wise and popular. But since when has the executive power had the initiative of laws? Is it wished to liken us to an assembly of notables?

Besides, the responsibility of the ministers solemnly demanded by the nation is not to be found in this declaration; no participation whatever of the states general in the legislative power is even spoken of. Nothing positive upon the liberty of the press; no mention of the eternal breach of trust, of the secrecy of letters, of the disastrous lottery tax; but, on the other hand, the formal intention of preserving the *lettres de cachet* with useless modifications. Finally, the king declares himself the arbiter of what is property or what is not, independently of the nature of things. "His majesty expressly comprises under the name of property the tithes, revenues, annuities, feudal and seignorial rights and dues."

Here we ought to observe that at the reading of this article some nobles had the indecency to applaud and to thus show that they have too much pride for their avarice, or too much avarice for their pride. It was only by means of "Silence, there!" that they were induced to restrain themselves.

This declaration of the intentions of his majesty

was followed by a third discourse, in which the king said to the representatives of the nation: . . .

So the king, not content to prescribe laws to the states general, and even their by-laws, whether interior or exterior, speaks only by this formula: *I will, I forbid, I order;* so that never has a monarch arrogated to himself more formally all powers without limit and without partition. And it is a good king that courtiers have dared counsel to try such a régime upon the nation he has felt the need of convoking!

But was it not, then, useless to assemble the representatives of the people in order to arrive at such an end? If the monarch is free to make laws based upon the *cahiers* of the different baillages, the ministers had only to have them sent by post; or indeed was this formality necessary? Could they not continue the rôle of legislators that they have played up to this time? Persuaded of the beneficent intentions of his majesty, their last resource is to deceive him upon the means of execution, to persuade him that he has need only of himself to effect the well being of his kingdom. If, however, at the time the estates were summoned, at a time when the king was incontestably provisory legislator, they did not believe that it was permissible for him to determine the manner of the deliberations, by what right, to-day when a legislative assembly exists, do

they wish to usurp the power of making laws, which does not pertain to them and ought not to? . . .

The deputies of the nobility and a part of those of the clergy retired; the others remained in their seats. Very soon the Marquis de Brézé came to say to them: "Gentlemen, you know the will of the king." At this one of the members of the commons, addressing him, said: "Yes, sir, we have heard the views that have been suggested to the king; and you cannot be his representative before the states general — you, who have no seat here, nor vote, nor right to speak; you are not the one to recall his discourse to us. However, to avoid all equivocation and all delay, I declare to you that if you have been charged to compel us to withdraw from here, you ought to demand orders to employ force; for we will leave our seats only by the power of the bayonet."

Then with one voice all of the deputies shouted: "*Such is the will of the assembly.*"

M. de Brézé having withdrawn, M. le Camus made the motion to persist in the preceding decrees. It was ably and strongly supported by M. Barnave, and passed unanimously.

The same deputy whose reply to the Marquis de Brézé we have reported then made the following motion: . . .

This motion was adopted by a majority of four

hundred and ninety-three votes against thirty-four, after a very short debate.

10. Biauzat, *Correspondance*, II, 135–139.

CONTINUATION OF THE JOURNAL OF THE STATES GENERAL

Session of Tuesday, June 23, 1789.

Everything was arranged for the good of the kingdom with the exception of some difficulties which were still left to be dealt with upon the subject of the honorary distinction of the orders, when some ill-intentioned persons sought to frighten the king. For that reason the transactions intended for conciliation were presented to him as capable of unsettling the throne.

The queen, who was the first object of the intrigue, was induced to present herself before the king with the dauphin and interest the father in maintaining the rights of the crown, that were said to be attacked.

The success of the evil thinkers was kept secret and with caution like the Brienne system, and we were given the frightful spectacle to-day of the triumph of the aristocracy. The king, deceived, consecrated pretensions destructive of the monarchy.

There were no longer invitations to a general reunion. The too feeble insinuations of the discourse

of May 5th for the vote by head have been replaced by imperative instructions to vote by order, except in some few cases; and the distinction of the orders, deliberating separately with the veto badly veiled, has been expressly declared constitutional.

To bring the people over to the party of the disguised aristocracy the skilful perfidy has been used of gathering some of the principal views of our *cahiers* and forming from them a declaration of the desires of the king, in order that it may appear that the government is mindful of the public good and also to authorize the announcement, made in too expressive terms, that the states general can be dispensed with.

I believe that I have spoken to you of a project which transpired the 16th of this month. Here is its execution. It is a production after the manner of Brienne—that is to say, much evil covered by an apparent and seducing good.

The deputies were obliged to pass through a body of troops to reach the hall of estates, without even having the liberty of choosing from the three avenues that led there and had been open to all up to this day.

The high clergy and the nobility submitted to the call by baillages. In this interval, which lasted nearly an hour and a half, the deputies of the commons were outdoors in the rain. They refused to submit to the call. They then entered and took their seats as usual.

The wishes of the king having been announced, he withdrew with very different ideas from those which should have delighted him the 4th and 5th of May.

The evil-minded among the clergy and nobility applauded twice at the reading of the fruit of their manœuvers. The others and the whole assembly of the deputies of the commons maintained a gloomy silence.

One of the last expressions of the king was for us to meet to-morrow in separate chambers. The clergy went out after the king. The nobility filed out following the clergy. And we remained unmoved. It was attempted to fatigue us by noise and dust. A multitude of workmen was employed for that reason to take down the throne and theater and remove its tapestries. We suffered in silence.

M. de Brézé then came to invite us verbally, on the part of the king, to retire. The president replied that the national assembly was going to deliberate.

We have deliberated and decreed that we persist in our preceding decrees, and we declared all the members of the assembly under the safeguard of the nation. . . .

Wednesday, *June 24*.—Yesterday's session was generally unexpected. MM. Necker and de Montmorin offered their resignations. The king himself saw the danger of accepting them. The best element here called upon M. Necker to beg him to en-

dure the results of his involuntary wrongs. Sent for by the queen and then by the king, he was accompanied by a great multitude of people, all respectable, who traversed the apartments which led to that of the king with him and in spite of him, and he was reconducted home as in a triumph.

We have again been surrounded to-day by bayonets. But our grief gave place to joy when we saw the majority of the clergy bring its registers and enter our hall majestically. The minority is deliberating at the present time (five o'clock in the evening) upon a motion, the substance of which is that they shall constitute themselves as the true chamber of the clergy under the pretext that it has the greatest number of bishops.

Attracted to the street by an unexpected noise, I have just seen an immense populace and troops which filled my neighborhood.

The archbishop of Paris was hooted at in going from the assembly of the clergy, and the populace accompanied him to the end of my street, where he lives. Some stones were thrown at his carriage and at his windows. I believed it was my duty to speak to the groups of people, as many of my colleagues did, and tranquillity was restored.

This same day, at midnight.—I have just learned, at the *coucher* of the king, that the archbishop of Paris went to him to carry his complaints. I do not know against whom. I had a conversation with his broth-

er, whom I did not know, and I was obliged to contradict a too violent description of the scene by his brother.

I learned that the minority of the nobility will return to us to-morrow, and I prophesy that we shall declare ourselves the states general before noon.

I am, with respect, etc.,

GAULTIER DE BIAUZAT.

25, nine o'clock in the morning.—Some hussars and armed members of the French guards have just arrived.

11. Bailly, *Mémoires*, I, 206–223.

Tuesday, June 23d.

We had been given notice that the first two orders would enter by the avenue entrance, the commons by an opposite door, facing the Rue des Chantiers, and that the latter would gather in a wooden gallery, which served as a vestibule to this door and where there was ordinarily a café. There was nothing to be done about this inconvenience; but it was felt. They (the commons) met there then. I arrived in good season. We waited a very long time. Murmurs began to be heard. This gallery was too small to contain all the deputies, with whom, in truth, were a number of curious people in short mantles, imitating the costume of the deputies. Many of the deputies were outside in the rain. The

murmurs redoubled. It was my place to knock at the door; the body guards of the post opened to me, and told me that we could enter very soon. Nevertheless, the indignation grew more marked. There was talk of withdrawing. I rapped again and asked for the grand master of ceremonies; some one replied that it was not known where he was. I was very anxious; I saw that it was possible and even natural that the injured commons would withdraw. And then what an imprudent thing for the ministry to force the king either to hold the meeting in their absence or to discontinue it in default of their presence! Very soon the intention to withdraw was manifested by loud shouts. The care of the dignity of the commons rested upon me. I rapped again; I asked for the commanding officer. The captain of the guards, Duc de Guiche, appeared. I said to him: "Sir, you have admittance to the interior; I beg of you to find M. de Brézé and to warn him that the representatives of the nation cannot remain where they are; that they will not wait any longer, and if they are not admitted immediately, they are going to withdraw." A moment after, the door was opened; M. de Brézé came to receive us, and we entered. I took the lead, walking between the grand master and the master of ceremonies, and followed by all the members of the national assembly, two by two, and in the most profound silence. On the way I made M. de Brézé feel all the inconsider-

ateness and the danger of the measures which had been taken. He informed me that an accident, the sudden death of M. Paporet, one of the secretaries of the king, and to whom they had tried to give some aid, had retarded the entrance; which was quite natural. But upon entering we found the two other orders in place, and I have always been persuaded that we had been made to wait thus, in order to allow them time to take their places, for fear that the commons, constituted as a national assembly, would wish to take the first places. The coming of the king was not long delayed; he took off his hat, bowed, and said: . . .

Immediately after this discourse the king had a first declaration read; but first the guard of the seals, having advanced to the throne and spoken to the king upon bended knee, according to the ordinary custom, said: "The king orders you to put on your hats." I put on my hat; a number of deputies from the commons did the same; neither the nobility nor the clergy did so. Doubtless, in the frivolous love of distinctions, they no longer cared to keep their hats on in the presence of the king when we had our hats on. By putting on my hat I had wished to preserve and indicate our rights. As soon as I saw the majority without hats I took my hat off, and everybody remained uncovered . . . .

[Here follows the substance of the declarations.] That done, the king spoke again. . . .

Then the king had a second declaration read, entitled, "Declaration of the Intentions of the King," and which contains the favors that he grants his people. It offers a plan of reform of abuses, a plan of administration, and the rights granted rather than due the nation.

It was astonishing that in speaking to the assembled nation the king was made to say, "the king wishes, the king understands"; that he had been made to annul decrees made by the nation, when the supreme leader, the hereditary representative of the nation, can only have a veto; that in the second declaration, which is a species of new constitution, no part in the legislative power is given to the states general; the necessity of the consent of the nation to taxation appears to be a concession rather than a recognition of the national right. Many deputies noticed the expressions, the favors that the king grants to his people; can the king, sole master and sole provisory legislator in the absence of the nation, speak thus to the nation assembled in states general? (*Courrier de Provence*, lettre 13.) During this reading the commons remained in the most profound silence, while the two declarations were accompanied and followed by much applause from the majority of the nobility and the minority of the clergy; this was right, since it was their work in part. The suspicion was justified because the articles VIII and IX reserve for a separate deliberation the things

which particularly interested the two orders, the feudal and seignorial rights, the useful rights and honorific prerogatives of the first two orders, ecclesiastical discipline, the régime of the secular and regular bodies; that meant that all that was an affair of privileged classes, and not national affairs; it was to establish the first two orders as sovereign judges in their own cause. (*Ibid.*) The reading ended, the king spoke again. . . .

Unfortunate prince, where have you been advised and how much have you been deceived! After the departure of the king the entire nobility and part of the clergy withdrew, the commons remained in their place, calm and in silence. The grand master of ceremonies approached me, and said to me: "Sir, you have heard the order of the king?" I replied to him: "Sir, the assembly adjourned to meet after the royal session; I cannot dissolve it until it has deliberated." "Is that your reply, and am I to communicate it to the king?" "Yes, sir." And I added to my colleagues who were around me: "I believe that an assembly of the nation cannot receive an order." It was said and repeated that I had made this reply to M. de Brézé. The official reply to his message is that which I have just reported. I respected the king too much to make such a reply; I knew too well the regard that a president owes to the assembly to commit it thus without its consent. It was for the assembly and not for me to weigh,

consider, and declare its rights. In truth, Mirabeau spoke, and, becoming angry with the grand master of ceremonies, said about what has since been repeated: "Go tell those who sent you that the force of bayonets is nothing against the will of the nation." This reponse has been greatly praised, which is not a reply, but a retort that he should not have made, that he had no right to make, since the president alone should have spoken, and which, at the same time that it was out of place, was beyond all moderation. Moderation requires that one should reply only to that which is said. Had bayonets been spoken of, had force been announced, had a menace escaped from the mouth of M. de Brézé? No. He recalled, according to his duty, an order of the king. Had the king the right to give this order? The assembly by continuing the session decided that he had not; and in declaring that the assembly could not be separated before having deliberated, I had preserved for it its rights and I had continued in the moderation from which an assembly and its president should never deviate.

Workmen began to make the necessary changes in the hall; after having consulted the assembly I had an order given them to stop. It was proposed to adjourn until the next day to discuss the declaration of the king. This advice was rejected as soon as proposed. M. Camus disclosed a firmer opinion in proposing to declare that the assembly persisted

in its preceding decrees, while postponing the session to the next day. Abbé Sieyès said: "You are to-day what you were yesterday." M. Barnave observed "that the decrees of the assembly depended only upon the assembly. The first has declared what you are, the second decides upon the imposts that you alone can consent to, the third is an oath that prescribes your duty. This is not a case of sanction. The king cannot destroy what he cannot sanction." The discussion was not long. The assembly, in admirable order and a majestic silence, in the presence of forty or fifty witnesses, who were upon the platform, adopting the motion of M. Camus, declared unanimously that it persisted in its preceding decrees. . . .

Mirabeau made a motion to declare the inviolability of the deputies, and there was a great discussion. I myself opposed it, with the idea that inviolability was sufficiently established by the fact, and that every precaution which would announce uneasiness and display doubt was apt only to weaken it. Mirabeau replied to me with heat: "You do not know to what you expose yourself! If you do not carry the decree, sixty deputies, and you first of all, will be arrested this night." We were told afterward, but I have not had occasion to verify the fact, that while we deliberated the body guard received an order to march and to form in the avenue before the hall, and that afterward they had had a counter-order.

However it may be, the motion of Mirabeau was adopted, and the following decree was passed. . . .

I finally came over to this opinion, because I felt that if inviolability did not need to be declared, it was nevertheless good to make a law that could become a weapon in the hands of each one of the dispersed deputies, a law which should give notice that the nation existed to avenge its representatives, and which would frighten those who would think of rendering themselves instigators of arbitrary and violent measures. These two decrees were passed in the presence of many members of the clergy. Those whose credentials were verified gave their votes at the time they gave their opinions, and the others asked that mention might be made of their presence. And the assembly having adjourned to the next day, I closed the session.

12. Duquesnoy, *Journal*, I, 117–123.

Versailles, June 24, 1789.

After hopes conceived too lightly perhaps, at the sight of the union of the clergy, good citizens learned with terror the day before yesterday that the ministerial existence of M. Necker was drawing to an end, that his friends were pressing him to quit, and that he had decided to do so. It was known in particular that he had proposed to the council a plan of conciliation which had been rejected, or to use the very expression of M. Necker, *dislocated*. It was learned the next morning that he persisted

in his resolution; and certainly, to look at the situation from one point of view, to think only of his individual honor, it appeared impossible that he should remain. Some sensible people, few in number, it is true, realized clearly that he could not retire without producing a terrible shock, the ruin of many fortunes, and perhaps a shortage in the food supply, which has been retarded up to the present time only by the infinite pains and the persona credit of M. Necker. What increased still more the uneasiness was that it was thought that the plan which was going to be proposed was the work of M. Vidaud de la Tour, a man servilely devoted to authority and a personal enemy of M. Necker. It was known, further, that an artistically planned scheme existed, and that a cabal, at the head of which were the queen, the Comte d'Artois, the princes of Condé and Coigny, was working to ruin him. It was known, further, that the queen had passed a whole after-dinner period with the two princes of Condé and Conti, MM. de Luxembourg and de Coigny, ardent enemies of public liberty. Finally, at the moment the session opened no one doubted the retirement of M. Necker, and above all when it was noted that he was not present.

The royal session was set for ten o'clock; it did not begin before half past eleven. The commons had waited a long time in the vestibule; there was talk of making an appeal to the name of the king,

but all the members refused to support it. Finally, when they had entered, one of the members noticed that Linguet had taken a seat among them; this man had published the day before a pamphlet in favor of the vote by order. A murmur arose: "*No Linguet! The man who wrote in favor of the vote by order has no right to be present in the national assembly!*" He was forced to retire, the guards themselves insisting on it.

Finally the king entered. No one had given him the slightest sign of approbation, and those who were in the back of the hall had noticed that he had entered only when he began to speak. I shall not analyze his three speeches, nor the declarations which have been published.... It is sufficient to know that never did despotism express itself in terms more audacious, that never did slaves listen to more imperious orders. Consequently, a profound silence reigned in the hall, the silence of indignation and anger. It was interrupted only by some very rare cries of "*Vive le roi!*" issuing from some episcopal or aristocratic mouths, but there was not a single one from the commons; far from it, one imposed silence upon hands and mouths which applauded elsewhere.

The king ended the session by ordering the deputies to retire and meet the next day in their separate chambers. The clergy and nobility withdrew, the commons remained in their places, and the grand

master of ceremonies having come to say that he had orders to prepare the hall, the Comte de Mirabeau said to him: "*Sir, go tell your master that the national assembly has decided it will not leave the hall. Let them make us leave by force, if they dare!*" The Marquis de Brézé retired, and the workmen who were taking down the throne ceased making a noise.

M. Pison du Galland then proposed that we should pass a decree in about these terms: "The national assembly has charged two of its members to procure without delay an official copy of what has been read to it and has adjourned until to-morrow." This proposition was vigorously opposed by M. Camus and by a number of others, and it was proposed to substitute the following: "The national assembly declares that it persists in its preceding decrees." Several motions were made in succession, one by the Comte de Mirabeau upon the inviolability of the members of the assembly, and one by M. le Chapelier on the necessity of rendering the session public in spite of the fact that the king had just prohibited it. In the course of the discussion, the most bitter criticism was made of the morning's performance, and without doubt that was an easy thing to do. Those who hazarded it, who thus compromised the royal authority, knew neither the men nor the times; they have not followed the progress of ideas since the opening of the estates; they have not felt that the hour of a great revolution has come,

that they may, indeed, retard it, give it, if I may say so, another course, but it is impossible to prevent it.

After some debate the assembly passed the following decree:

[Here follow the two decrees, presented as one.]

This decree passed, the session was ended and adjourned until the next day. It must be confessed that it is impossible to show a more marked disregard for the royal authority, and never, without doubt, was there better reason for it. It is when kings forget, when they prostitute their powers, when they degrade them themselves by making use of them to the detriment of public liberty, that it is necessary to teach them that there is a force superior to that of all the kings of the earth, that of reason, of justice, of truth, when it calls public opinion to its aid.

It was noted that the king talked in a trembling and weak tone. Was it the consciousness of the wrong he was doing? Was it the fear with which he had been inspired?

The guard of the seals was hooted as well as the Archbishop of Paris; good people are irritated to see two such different men confounded. The Duc d'Orleans was enthusiastically applauded by the people; on the contrary, the moment the king entered his carriage no sign of joy was given, and how could one show it when the streets and the highways were

lined with armed men, who can, to be sure, command silence, but who are never sufficiently strong to make the heart speak.

Toward five o'clock in the evening, the report having started that M. Necker had resigned, five hundred deputies of the commons hastened to his residence, without deliberation, without any understanding, by this involuntary and irrational movement produced by the irresistible ascendancy of virtue, of probity, and of generosity. The street, the court of the mansion, were filled with people, two thousand people had followed him into the court of the château, and there, under the very windows of the king, they cried: "Long live M. Necker! Give us M. Necker!" At Necker's there was the greatest agitation, and yet Madame Necker maintained a calm and serene air, and I did not see her join a single tear to those shed around her.

Finally they came to announce his return. From the court of the château to his house he was followed by an infinite number of people of every class, who did not cease to cry: "*Vive M. Necker!*" When he had entered, they were still ignorant whether he would stay; they simply abandoned themselves to their joy; the shouts redoubled; he could not speak; he asked to be permitted to retire a minute with his wife. He at once returned and found in his salon all the deputies of the commons, who received him with expressions of joy difficult to describe. Some

words of gratitude escaped him, and then he took advantage of the occasion to preach union, harmony. I especially noted this remark, full of reason and sense: "Gentlemen, you are very strong, but do not abuse your power." A hundred voices repeated: "Sir, we have no more need of orders; tell us your desires." Others: "They did not know the French people; they did not know how generous and loyal it is." Others: "It is your happiness we wish to consummate, and the best way of doing it is to come to an understanding among ourselves; show us the road, and we will follow it." Finally, expressions of joy took the character of those who talked, but all breathed that kind of love which one has only for people truly good, and which talents and great qualities do not inspire.

The Comte de Luzerne had been one of the first to reach M. Necker's house; no one showed any interest in him. The Comte de Montmorin seems never to have left him; it is said M. Necker presented him as his second self; what is certain is that he was much applauded and that there were many cries of "*Vive M. de Montmorin!*" and that all the deputies of the commons went to call upon him. To the cries that are heard are always joined those of "*Long live the third estate! Long live the commons! Long live the national assembly!*" And when a deputy of the commons passed he was applauded.

In the evening bonfires were lighted and fireworks

were set off before the house of M. Necker, and people filled the streets for a part of the night, displaying great signs of joy and stopping before the houses where the deputies lodged.

13. Jallet, *Journal*, 96, 100.

Two councils were held, one Saturday night, and the other the next day. . . . The king had ordered the assembly to separate. The third estate and a great part of the clergy, who were for the union, remained. There was profound silence for several minutes. The Marquis de Brézé entered by the order of the king and declared by order of the president that it was the wish of his majesty that they should separate. The president replied that the session could be suspended only by the consent of the national assembly. One of the deputies arose and said: "*Only bayonets can make us leave here.*" The Marquis de Brézé withdrew to report to the king what had happened. His majesty had given orders to the body guard, which had been summoned from Saint-Germain, to return there. The ministers, frightened, made them come back. The king, astonished at this movement, reiterated his orders. It is said that the king, having learned that the third estate and part of the clergy did not wish to separate, in spite of his orders, replied: "Well, d— it, let them remain. . . ." Eighty curés remained, in spite of the orders of the king. The Archbishop of Vienna was weak enough to send word to the curés to come to him. Some of

them went out, but, not getting any good reasons from the archbishop for this action, wished to return; the guards prevented them from doing so. The other curés were present at the whole session. The *procès-verbal* of the national session stated that the action was taken by the three orders united. In fact, the majority of the clergy was looked upon as being present, because of the union of the preceding day, and the deputies of the Dauphiné and of Saint-Domingo were present as representatives of the nobility.

14. Staël-Holstein, *Correspondance*, 103–105.

No. 116, June 25.

The plan of conciliation of M. Necker, which was favorable to the third estate, was adopted last Friday by the king, when, Sunday, Monsieur and the Comte d'Artois came into the council. Both, and especially the latter, were of the opinion that it should be modified in such a way that it would become unacceptable to the third estate and very favorable to the protestations of the two other privileged orders. The royal session was adjourned to the next day on account of the resistance M. Necker made to any changes. Monday there was a new council. The Comte d'Artois, strengthened by the success of the evening and thinking that he had gained the queen for his side, was more violent than ever. The guard of the seals, Villedeuil, the minister of Paris, and the four councilors of state supported

him, and the king decided to maintain the ancient constitution, that is to say, the custom of the three orders, with exceptions, which he was contented to ask and not to command. One would scarcely believe that the Comte d'Artois could have brought himself to advise a course which would compromise so cruelly the royal authority and whose baleful results were incalculable. This conduct is all the more condemnable and inconsiderate when one thinks that its principal end was to disgust M. Necker to the point of forcing him to ask for his dismissal, which he would have done immediately had he not been restrained at this time by the fear of the frightful misfortunes that his withdrawal would bring in its train. He believed that he should give it only at the moment when he had lost all hope of being useful to the nation, to which he was devoted. But profoundly wounded by such conduct, he resolved not to appear at the royal session. This extreme course announced to the king and to all the nation that he did not approve the plans that had been proposed. The third estate, after having heard the declaration of the king, passed a decree by which it rejected in full the plan that his majesty had proposed to it. Meanwhile, the report had spread that the king having declined to accept the plan of Necker, he had chosen the alternative of resigning. This news very soon spread a universal alarm. All of the third estate and a part of the nobility came to

him. Two thousand persons were at his door. The king and the queen, not doubting but that M. Necker wished to give his resignation, sent for him. The third estate, the people, accompanied him with cries to the château. Necker entered. The king and the queen urgently asked him to remain, making a thousand promises of confidence, due perhaps more to the moment than to their true intention. Urged by his duty of preserving as far as he was able the fortunes of an infinite number of families, who had loaned money to the king only through the confidence that they had in him; urged by the nation and by the king, he promised to remain. When he left, this news spread, and never have the transports of the public gone farther, never has the enthusiasm of a nation had a more touching character. His house was illuminated, and the name of the king appeared there, and his also. At the same time it was learned that at Paris the populace was in such despair at losing Necker that the greatest misfortunes were to be feared, if he persisted in his resolution. I am, however, still ignorant as to whether he has acquired the necessary ascendency to struggle against the intrigue of the Comte d'Artois.

The majority of the clergy went to the national assembly yesterday, and this morning forty-seven noblemen, among whom the Duc d'Orléans and the greatest names of France are counted. The majority of the nobility and the minority of the clergy resolved

to accept the plans of the king as his majesty proposed them. The third estate, having now become the national assembly, will not accept them. But as the great dispute among them is as to whether they shall deliberate in common upon the organization of the states general, it is hoped that the king will ask the nobility to renounce this modification of his plan, and there will only remain the statement of seigniorial rights for the nobility and matters of religion for the clergy. All will be agreed. The time is very critical, for the people grossly insulted the Archbishop of Paris yesterday, and if they are not stopped they will take this culpable manner of forcing action. It is unfortunate that the people mix in these affairs, but when once affairs reach such a point the people are sovereign.

15. Bailli de Virieu, *Correspondance*, 99.

Paris, June 29, 1789.

In the squares and in the streets one sees only crowds of people talking of the states general; one hears the words *Third Estate* and *Nation* constantly repeated and forming everywhere a deafening echo. The baggage carriers, the clerks, the fishwives even take a hand in these conversations. In the stores the clerks neglect the customers to occupy themselves only with politics; finally, the words "Third Estate" become a war-cry, and all the speeches one hears are those of men capable of anything if the nobility and clergy persist in their

declarations. The French at this moment bear little resemblance to the French of the month of June of last year. Saturday, the 20th, at Versailles, the royal session was proclaimed for the 22d. Monday morning it was postponed until the next day, the 23d. Opinions differ as to the cause of this delay; it is generally attributed to the changes made in the speeches with which M. Necker had been charged, and which M. Vidaud de la Tour, master of requests, and M. de Barentin had occasioned by the objections they made without number, at the instigation, it is suspected, of a third person. However that may be, these objections having, it is said, disgusted M. Necker, made clear to him at the same time that the intention was to wreck his plan and push the king to make use of his authority. It is added that he did all he could to prevent his majesty from having read at the royal session the speech, or rather the declaration of the guard of the seals, assuring him that it would displease the third estate. Seeing that the king persisted in his intention, Necker presented his resignation. In fact, it was the report of the dismissal of this minister, so dear to the people, rather than the declaration of the king, which nearly produced a bloody revolt. . . . The 23d, terrible day, on which the storm formed and almost at once passed away, the king betook himself to the assembly. Having seated himself on the throne, he cast his eyes about to find Necker. He did not see

him and waited a minute, after which he read his speech. . . . He thereupon ordered the deputies of the three orders to retire into the chambers belonging to each. Cries of "*Vive le roi!*" were heard when his majesty rose to leave the hall. The people who had gathered in crowds and were awaiting with impatience at the doors the end of this session, on hearing these acclamations, believed the *Tiers* had won their cause. They joined at once to the acclamations their shouts of joy, but they soon ceased. Not seeing any deputy of the third estate leave the hall, in spite of the orders of the king, and those which the Marquis de Brézé had repeated to them in the name of his majesty, the people suspected something, asked questions, and, the answer having confirmed their suspicions, the multitude rushed to the doors of the château. The officers cried: "To arms! On guard! Stop them!" The French and Swiss guards seized their muskets, but did not offer the least resistance to the crowd. It penetrated even to the royal apartments, at the doors of which the firmness of the body guard checked the most mutinous. They demanded, however, in threatening tones that M. Necker be restored to them. This minister showed himself at once. "Retire, calm yourselves, gentlemen," he said; "the king and queen have sent for me." In fact, the conversation lasted an hour and a half; the minister came out with a satisfied air. At the moment he entered

his carriage the crowd called to him, "Monsieur Necker, will you stay?" The "yes" was not pronounced distinctly; or, rather, was it not clearly understood? M. Necker was borne in triumph to his residence, and there a more categorical reply was awaited. At the end of a few minutes a "Yes, he is going to stay, he will never leave again" made itself heard from the top of the staircase to the end of the street. The people then retired, satisfied by the return of the favorite. The report of the dismissal of M. Necker reached Paris as soon as it was learned at Versailles. It is impossible to picture the consternation of the Parisians. If there had been a delay of a few hours in learning that M. Necker was retained, one would have been the spectator of a horrible catastrophe.

16. Jefferson, *Correspondence*, letter to John Jay, II, 483.

Paris, June 24, 1789.

Sir,—My letter of the 17th and 18th gave you the progress of the states general to the 17th, when the *Tiers* had declared the illegality of all the taxes and their discontinuance from the end of their present session. The next day, being a *jour de fête*, could furnish no indication of the impression that the vote was likely to make on the government. On the 19th a council was held at Marly, in the afternoon. It was there proposed that the king should interpose by a declaration of his sentiments

in a *séance royale*. The declaration prepared by M. Necker, while it censured, in general, the proceedings both of the nobles and the commons, announced the king's views, such as substantially to coincide with the commons. It was agreed to in council, as also that the *séance royale* should be held on the 22d and the meetings till then be suspended. . . . It was intimated to them [the commons], however, that day [June 20th], privately, that the proceedings of the *séance royale* would be favorable to them. The next day they met in a church and were joined by a majority of the clergy. The heads of the aristocracy saw that all was lost without some violent exertion. The king was still at Marly. Nobody was permitted to approach him but their friends. He was assailed by lies in all shapes. He was made to believe that the commons were going to absolve the army from their oath of fidelity to him and to raise their pay. . . . They procured a committee to be held, consisting of the king and his ministers, to which monsieur and the Comte d'Artois should be admitted. At this committee the latter attacked M. Necker personally, arraigned his plans, and proposed one which some of his enemies had put into his hands. M. Necker, whose characteristic is want of firmness, was browbeaten and intimidated, and the king shaken. He determined that the two plans should be deliberated on the next day and the *séance royale* put off a day

longer. This encouraged a fiercer attack on M. Necker the next day; his plan was totally dislocated, and that of the Comte d'Artois inserted into it. Himself and M. de Montmorin offered their resignation, which was refused; the Comte d'Artois saying to M. Necker: "No, sir, you must be kept as the hostage; we hold you responsible for all the ill which shall happen." This change of plan was immediately whispered without doors. The nobility were in triumph, the people in consternation. When the king passed, the next day, through the lane they formed from the *Château* to the *Hôtel des États* (about half a mile), there was a dead silence. He was about an hour in the house, delivering his speech and declaration, copies of which I inclose you. On his coming out a feeble cry of "*Vive le roi!*" was raised by some children; but the people remained silent and sullen. When the Duc d'Orléans followed, however, their applauses were excessive. This must have been sensible to the king. He had ordered, in the close of his speech, that the members should follow him and resume their deliberations the next day. The *Noblesse* followed him, and so did the clergy, except about thirty, who, with the *Tiers*, remained in the room and entered into deliberation. They protested against what the king had done, adhered to all their former proceedings, and resolved the inviolability of their own persons. An officer came twice to order them out of the room, in the king's

name, but they refused to obey. In the afternoon the people, uneasy, began to assemble in great numbers in the courts and vicinities of the palace. The queen was alarmed and sent for M. Necker. He was conducted amid the shouts and acclamations of the multitude who filled all the apartments of the palace. He was a few minutes only with the queen, and about three-quarters of an hour with the king. Not a word has transpired of what passed at these interviews. The king was just going out to ride. He passed through the crowd to his carriage and into it without being in the least noticed. As M. Necker followed him universal acclamations were raised of "*Vive Monsieur Necker, vive le sauveur de la France opprimée.*" He was conducted back to his house with the same demonstrations of affection and anxiety. About two hundred deputies of the *Tiers*, catching the enthusiasm of the moment, went to his house and extorted from him a promise that he would not resign. These circumstances must wound the heart of the king, desirous as he is to possess the affections of his subjects. As soon as the proceedings at Versailles were known at Paris a run began on the *Caisse d'escompte*, which is the first symptom always of the public diffidence and alarm. It is the less in condition to meet the run, as M. Necker has been forced to make free with its funds for the daily support of the government.

17. Barante, *Lettres et instructions de Louis XVIII.*, xcvi.

Already the chamber of the third estate had declared itself the national assembly. M. Necker then felt the necessity of abandoning the reserve that he had shown and of causing the royal authority to take a part in the solution of the problems in dispute between the nobility and the third estate, and he decided even to lay the foundations of a constitution. It was with the preliminary consent of the king that he occupied himself with this matter; it was to be definitely adopted at Marly. Everything at that time was done in such haste that it was in the carriage, on the way from Versailles to Marly, that M. Necker communicated to M. de Saint-Priest and M. de Luzerne the propositions that the council was to consider. Before it began, the queen wished to see M. Necker. He found her with her brothers. His work had been shown to them. All made a great effort to induce him not to present his project. He was immovable.

PROBLEM III

III.—The Insurrection of October 5 and 6, 1789

The Insurrection of October 5 and 6, 1789

A. THE HISTORIC SETTING OF THE PROBLEM

BETWEEN the royal session of June 23d and the October insurrection events of far-reaching importance had taken place in France, events of which this insurrection was the natural consequence. Until July, 1789, the revolutionary movement centered in the activities of the assembly at Versailles; after July 11th it spread rapidly to the whole of France and entered upon a new and larger phase.

Louis XVI. had failed to carry through his program on June 23d, but he did not abandon it. The military force in and around Versailles was not sufficient to overcome the possible resistance of Versailles, and especially of Paris, and the temper of the people in both places was such that the government hesitated to resort to extreme measures with the commons without sufficient military support. In the last week in June, the government temporized while moving troops as rapidly as possible to the neighborhood of Paris and Versailles. The commons and the public did not, however, allow the government to carry out its program unhampered. On June 24th, although the hall was surrounded by troops and troops were even posted within the building to keep the orders in their separate halls, and although the public was excluded from the hall of the commons, the majority

of the clergy joined the commons in the large hall on that day. June 25th the assembly was increased by the addition of the minority of the nobility. It is true that these additions might be interpreted in two ways; but the public, at least, assumed that they meant the existence of a single assembly, the vote by head and the reform of France. The large majority of the deputies now sat in one assembly; the public was impatient at the resistance of the minority and agitated by the rumors of an appeal to force and a dissolution of the assembly—perhaps accompanied by bankruptcy—now circulating both in Paris and Versailles. Rioting broke out in Versailles, and it was feared the château might be attacked. The king decided to yield a step and gain time for the gathering of military force. In his declarations of June 23d he had not *ordered* the clergy and nobility to join the commons for the consideration of questions of common interests; he had pointed out the wisdom of such a course and expressed the hope that they might follow it. On June 27th he wrote to the two orders asking them to join the third estate for the purpose of considering his declarations. The nobility were inclined to resist, and it was only on the representation of the Comte d'Artois that the king's life would be in danger, if they did not go to the common hall, that they finally yielded. Great was the rejoicing of the public, which naturally interpreted the union of the orders in a manner favorable to their own wishes. The assembly, it assumed, is now complete; let the work of making the constitution begin. And it did begin. Disregarding the protests of clergy and nobility, realizing that the *fait accompli* is the most irresistible of arguments, the majority appointed a committee to prepare a program for work. This was July 6th.

Meanwhile the army was gathering, and reports of

counter-revolution circulated and were even printed in Paris and Versailles. It is not clear, even to-day, just what Louis XVI. had in mind, but it was probably his intention to force through his program of June 23d, dissolving the assembly if it resisted. The army was needed to hold Paris in check. And each day the fear of Paris increased, and it was felt by the supporters of the reactionary movement that if they were to succeed they must act at once. For the people of Paris were talking of arming themselves, of forming a citizen guard, and the French Guard—several thousand regular troops stationed in Paris—had already made clear that they would not fire on their fellow citizens. Some who had been arrested for insubordination and thrown into prison were released by the populace and guarded in the Palais Royal. This was on June 30th. Finally, the national assembly protested to the king against the presence of the troops in Versailles as an infringement upon the liberty of debate and asked him to send them away. Under the pretext that they were needed to keep order in Paris, the king declined to grant the request of the assembly.

Before the plans of the government had been perfected, while many of the troops were still on the march, the *coup d'état* was precipitated on July 11th by the dismissal of Necker. Not until the next day did the fact become known in Paris; and when, in the afternoon of Sunday, June 12th, the people of the Palais Royal protested against the action of the government and went in procession through the streets carrying busts of Necker and the popular hero, the Duc d'Orléans, the July revolution had begun. It needed only the clash between the troops and the demonstrators, followed by the shedding of the blood of citizens, to produce an outburst of anger which armed France and stripped the king of his authority. The re-

action lacked efficient leadership, was handicapped by the vacillation of the king and by the unreliability of the troops, even of the foreign regiments. On July 13th the people took possession of the city government of Paris and began to organize a militia; on July 14th it invaded the Invalides and provided itself with arms, and on the same day, led by the French Guards, who had gone over to the people in a body—minus their officers—the Bastille was forced to surrender. The insurrection was master of Paris. On the fifteenth the king capitulated, recognized the national assembly, and asked its assistance in quieting Paris. On July 16th the emigration of the members of the reactionary party began, and on the seventeenth the king went to Paris and gave his approval to the revolution, putting in his hat the revolutionary red-and-blue cockade.

With extraordinary rapidity the revolt spread from Paris over France. Everywhere a militia was formed, and the city government passed into the hands of the middle class. From the cities, the movement swept on into the country. It was "the great fear," the fear of brigands and foreign troops, who never appeared, which put arms into the hands of the peasants and made them masters of their own fate. Up to this time the revolution had been largely concerned with political questions; nothing had been said—or very little—about feudal rights and the interests of the peasant farmers. To the peasants the question of the abolition of feudal rights was not one for debate, but for action. When should they have another such opportunity? The central authority had disappeared, the armed force was in their hands. Who could oppose them if they swept away forever the oppressive survivals of the feudal system? Peasant bands, accompanied by notaries, marched to the châteaux,

opened the archives, and, carrying away the proofs of feudal rights, burned them in the courts of the châteaux or in the village squares. There was violence when the owner resisted, there were demands of entertainment, and many indications that not even the honorary distinctions of the noble would be tolerated; but the violence has been exaggerated, and the whole subject has been superficially treated. The peasants disposed in a summary way of abuses long since condemned and undeserving of perpetuation. It was not what they did so much as the way in which they did it that was to cause trouble.

The July insurrection, the peasant uprising, had put an end to arbitrary government, to the political independence of the privileged classes and the remnants of the feudal system. But all this must be legalized. From all over France reports came in to the assembly of the violent deeds of the peasants. The destruction of feudal titles had stripped many members of the assembly of a large part of their revenues. Something must be done. A committee was appointed, the last week in July, to receive these reports and recommend some action to the assembly. On August 3d the committee reported advising an address to the people, in which they were urged to obey the laws and pay their dues until the assembly should have made the constitution and reformed all these matters. The report was not accepted, but, with other propositions made in this session, was turned over to another committee for revision. On the night of August 4th the committee submitted a report, differing but little from the report of the previous day. It was hardly discussed. As the result of an agreement among the liberal members of the assembly, made the previous night, a proposition was submitted to abolish all feudal rights in consideration of a payment for those recognized as property rights.

This marked the opening of one of the most extraordinary sessions in the history of the national assembly. Clergy, nobility, and third estate vied with each other in the sacrifice of feudal rights and privileges which had separated class from class, province from province, and city from city. When all the motions had been passed, a new France existed, but a France destined to be torn by discord in the attempt to formulate legally the new social status of its members. Nor was the night of August 4th simply the result of a "wild orgy." A careful reading of the contemporary accounts makes clear that the delegates had not entirely lost their heads. The nobles were not unwilling to exchange their feudal rights for cash; the destruction of the records made it necessary to compensate them for the loss of rights which could never be restored. Besides economic problems, the decree of August 4th dealt with political, judicial, and ecclesiastical matters. All of these changes, however, were to go into effect when the assembly had worked out the legal machinery. Meanwhile, the old laws and regulations would be for the most part valid.

The report of the committee on August 4th had interrupted the work of the assembly on the constitution. The first committee, already referred to, had reported, suggesting an outline of work and indicating a declaration of rights as the first question to be considered by the assembly. A new and smaller committee was then chosen. This committee made a report the latter part of July, and its report led to a debate upon the questions as to whether there should be a declaration of rights, and if so, whether it should precede the constitution, be issued before the constitution was finished, or should form the first chapter of the constitution and not appear until the constitution—showing the application of the declaration

—was finished. On the morning of August 4th the assembly voted that there should be a declaration, and that it should be finished before the work on the constitution had begun. After the debates upon the feudal rights and their final formulation the assembly took up the declaration of rights and voted a series of articles, formulating the fundamental principles underlying every well-organized society. After voting seventeen articles the assembly decided to give no more time to the matter for the present, and turned to the consideration of the committee's report dealing with the monarchy and the organization of the legislative power. Of the debates which followed during the first days of September the most important were those dealing with the right of royal veto and the organization of the legislative body. Shall the king have the right to veto, absolutely, the acts of the assembly? Shall there be an upper and a lower house, or shall there be but a single chamber? The question of the veto power of the king raised the question of his right to veto the constitution, hence to prevent the limitation of his power and the reorganization of France; the problem of an upper and lower house was complicated by the existence of three orders and the fact that younger sons also possessed titles. Suppose an upper house were created to contain clergy and nobility; would not such a house be reactionary and render a reorganization of France impossible? These were all practical political problems, and were considered from the point of view of practical politics. The assembly gave the king a limited veto, established a single chamber, and declined to recognize the members of that chamber as the representatives of orders.

The last of September the foundations of the constitutions had been laid. What was the attitude of the king toward all this? What the attitude of the privileged

classes? Open resistance, an appeal to arms after the July insurrection was out of the question. The revolution might, however, be blocked. The king and his ministers were in control of the machinery of government; the assembly wished to make him a part, but a harmless part, of the new government. Suppose that publicly he reiterated his sympathy for the new state of things and privately opposed the changes made by the assembly? Suppose he should not take the declaration of rights seriously, should not make public nor attempt to execute the August decrees, should withhold his approval from the first articles of the constitution? Suppose he even thought of retiring to a frontier city like Metz and from there attempting to carry out the counter-revolution which had failed in July? Suppose many of the nobility and clergy, and some of the members of the third estate—grown conservative through fear of the lower classes—stood ready to second such a movement; what could be done? And to add to the difficulties there was the constant danger of a famine in Paris and an uprising of the people demanding bread. Paris was not fully satisfied with the work of the assembly, and attempts had been made to go to Versailles to force more radical action. Lafayette and his guards had prevented this, but it was feared that he might not always be able to control the guards, especially the paid troops, consisting of the old French Guards. For these guards had formerly shared with the body guards the honor of guarding the king. They wished to bring the king to Paris and renew their old duties. The fear of a Parisian invasion had led the king, in the last days of September, with the approval of the city government of Versailles and the national assembly, to call to Versailles the regiment of Flanders. Its arrival created trouble in Versailles and called forth

protests from the Paris commune. It was believed that the king's party intended to use the regiment for illegitimate purposes, perhaps to cover a retreat to Metz. The situation was not improved when the body guards gave a banquet in the château to the officers of the regiment of Flanders. It was a royalist affair, the king and queen being present and enthusiastically toasted. It was represented as an anti-national affair; there were no toasts to the national assembly, and it was reported that the national cockade was trampled under foot. Add to all these things the intrigues—whatever they may have been—of the Duc d'Orléans and his creatures, and it is evident that inflammable material enough existed. Only the spark was needed to create a conflagration. This was furnished by the women of Paris who, on the morning of October 5th, invaded the city hall, moved by the fear of a bread famine. As the uprising developed, it drew in all the other groups, who took advantage of the opportunity to realize their desires.

B. CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Procès-verbal de l'assemblée nationale.* See bibliography of Problem I.

2. *Abrégé des circonstances du départ de Louis XVI. pour Paris, le 6 Octobre, 1789, par M. de Saint-Priest.* This account of the October days was written by Saint-Priest and published in 1822 in the notes to the *Mémoires de Madame Campan* (Paris, 3 vols.), II, 292–310, the editor obtaining the manuscript from the son of M. de Saint-Priest. Saint-Priest was born in 1735 and died in 1821. He was a member of the body guard of Louis XV., a chevalier of the order of Malta, had served a short time as ambassador in Portugal, a long time as ambassador

in Constantinople, and on the eve of the national assembly was an ambassador to Holland. In the fall of 1788 he was made a minister to the king's council without a department, and after his return to the ministry, in August, 1789, he was made minister of the interior, holding that position until January, 1791. Saint-Priest supported Necker in his plan for a royal session, and went out of office in July, 1789, at the time of the attempted *coup d'état*. It will be noticed that in October he was opposed to him. The extract given here may have been a part of the incomplete *Mémoires* left by Saint-Priest, and referred to by his editor, M. de Barante, in the introduction to the volume of "Lettres et instructions de Louis XVIII. à M. de Saint-Priest" (Paris, 1845), p. ii. "In the last part of his life," wrote M. de Barante, "M. de Saint-Priest undertook to write his *Mémoires*. He was not able to finish them nor to revise what he had written. His family did not think they should be published, but we have them before us, and we cannot do better than draw upon them for this sketch" [of the life of Saint-Priest].

3. Necker, *De la révolution française*. See the bibliography of Problem II.

4. Lafayette, Marquis de, *Mémoires*, 6 vols., Paris, 1837. Lafayette was one of the popular heroes of the early revolution. He had been an officer in the French army which had helped the American colonists to establish their independence, was the friend of Washington, and had returned to France hoping to play a not unlike rôle by leading his own countrymen in the struggle for constitutional liberty. He had been a member of the notables in 1787, and in 1789 was a member of the chamber of the nobility, favorable to union with the commons and to a liberal constitution. At the time of the July revolution he had

been made general of the Paris militia, organized the national guard, and gave it the famous tri-colored cockade. At the time of the October insurrection he was still a member of the national assembly, but gave the most of his time to the affairs of the national guard of Paris. The six volumes of *Mémoires* do not constitute a continuous narrative. The full title of the work, *Mémoires, correspondance, et manuscrits*, indicates its contents correctly; it is the literary remains of Lafayette. The letters are the most valuable material for the historian. The narrative, written for the most part years after the events, has the least value. The material on October 5th and 6th is one of two accounts by Lafayette, written at different times. It was probably written after 1800. Lafayette was born in 1757 and died in 1834.

5. *Procédure criminelle instruite au châtelet de Paris sur la dénonciation des faits arrivés à Versailles dans la journée du 6 Octobre, 1789. Imprimée par ordre de l'assemblée nationale. A Paris, Chez Baudoin, imprimeur de l'assemblée nationale. 1790.* This work contains nearly four hundred depositions taken by the judges of the Châtelet, the criminal court of Paris, on the events of October 5th and 6th. The investigation was begun in December, 1789, on the instigation of the municipality of Paris. The last depositions were taken in July, 1790, and on August 7th the manuscript was laid before the national assembly. It was printed by Baudoin, the printing being completed September 19, 1790. There are three parts: the first part (*première partie*) contains 270 pages; the second part (*suite*) contains 221, and the third (also *suite*) contains 79. Some of these four hundred deponents had no first-hand knowledge, but the most of them had seen some of the incidents of the fifth and sixth, and drew upon their personal recollections. This great mass of testimony

constitutes our chief source of information for the dramatic uprising of October, 1789.

6. Salmour, Comte de, *Correspondance*, in Flammermont, Jules, *Les correspondances des agents diplomatiques étrangers en France avant la révolution*, Paris, 1896. The letter is found on pages 260–274. The Comte de Salmour had been the minister of Saxony at the French court since November, 1786. He was "a grand *seigneur* of Italian origin, had been educated in Turin, where his family had established itself; he possessed property in Piedmont, among others the estate of Salmour, whose name he bore. For three years he had lived at Paris with the Comte de Vitry, ambassador of the king of Sardinia to the court of Versailles. He was chamberlain of the elector of Saxony." M. de Salmour was cordially received at Versailles by the queen, who had known and loved his mother, and was admitted into the inner court circle. The Baron de Besenval was his uncle. He thus had the best of opportunities to obtain reliable information, and his letters are among the fullest and most reliable of all the letters written by the ambassadors then accredited to the court of Versailles.

7. Bailli de Virieu, *Correspondance*. See Problem I.

C. QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. What are the best sources in this collection from the point of view of (*a*) opportunities for gaining information and (*b*) time of writing?
2. Without comparing the texts, what sources *might* be dependent?
3. What sources are clearly independent?
4. Why are the depositions, although the accounts of eye and ear witnesses, not ideal evidence—that is to say, *these particular depositions*, not depositions in general?
5. What were the causes of the uprising of October 5th? Can

you actually prove what you say by the agreement of independent witnesses, or are you dependent on affirmations of single witnesses?

6. What are the main incidents of the two days, and how many witnesses have you for each incident?
7. At what time in the morning of the fifth did trouble begin at the city hall?
8. What brought the people together at the city hall? What was their attitude toward the city government? Is there any connection between this and the sacking of the city hall?
9. Describe the action of the city government. What impression does it make on you?
10. Why did the women go to Versailles?
11. Describe the significant features of the march, that is (*a*) when they set out, (*b*) how many there were of them, (*c*) how they conducted themselves en route, (*d*) when they arrived in Versailles, (*e*) what they did after they got there. Divide each large incident into its details and gather up the evidence on each detail, keeping in mind the question of independence.
12. What action did the king take in dealing with the uprising?
13. Why did the national guards wish to go to Versailles?
14. Why did Lafayette oppose them? Some writers have said his opposition was perfunctory, that he did not really object to going. What does the evidence indicate?
15. How large a force did Lafayette have? Into what groups did the force fall, and what was the character of each group?
16. When did Lafayette leave Paris, and when did he reach Versailles?
17. What happened after he got there?
18. What had the women accomplished before Lafayette came?
19. What was the situation at two o'clock on the morning of the fifth?
20. Describe the incidents on the morning of the sixth: (*a*) the killing of the body guards, (*b*) the invasion of the

château, (*c*) the rescue work of Lafayette and the guards, (*d*) the king and royal family before the crowd and the promise to go to Paris.

21. Describe (*a*) the march to Paris, (*b*) the reception at the city hall.
22. Make an outline of the facts of the insurrection and write a narrative, citing the evidence.

D. The Sources

1. *Procès-verbal*, No. 92, Monday, October 5, 1789.

The president having, moreover, in accordance with the decree of the first of this month, presented for the acceptance of the king the declaration of the rights of man in society and the nineteen articles of the constitution already decreed, read the reply of his majesty conceived in these terms:

"Thus confident that the first constitutional articles you have presented to me brought together at the end of your work will fulfil the wish of my peoples, and will assure the good fortune and prosperity of the kingdom, I grant, according to your desire, my consent to these articles, but upon one positive condition, and from which I will never depart, it is that as the result of your discussion the executive power shall remain in full force in the hands of the monarch. . . . I do not explain my attitude toward your declaration of the rights of man and of the citizen. It contains very good maxims, proper to guide your work, but principles susceptible of different applications and even of different interpretations cannot be justly appreciated, and have need of being

so only at the moment when their true sense is fixed by the laws to which they ought to serve as the chief foundation. Signed, Louis."

After a second reading of the reply of the king to the declaration of rights and the nineteen articles of the constitution the discussion of this reply commenced. A great number of members, uneasy over anything which can arouse the distrust of the people or make possible in the future interpretations harmful to public liberty, observed that if the king did not accept at once the declaration of rights the tranquillity of the kingdom might be compromised, and that the consent given to the nineteen articles of the constitution decreed up to this time ought to be pure and simple for the same reasons. . . .

The assembly passed in the ordinary form the following decree:

"The national assembly has decreed that the president, at the head of a deputation, shall go to the king to-day for the purpose of begging his majesty to kindly give a pure and simple consent to the declaration of the rights of man and of the citizen and of the nineteen articles of the constitution which have been presented to him." . . .

But a member having observed that the deputies of the Vicomté, and those of the city of Paris, in the national assembly had assembled in the course of the morning to consider means of remedying the alarming scarcity of flour in Paris, and a great num-

ber of the citizenesses and some citizens having been admitted at this moment to the bar, where they stated that it was urgently necessary to occupy themselves with the food supply of this city, the assembly decided immediately to send the president to the king with those of the deputies who cared to accompany him to ask him not only for a pure and simple consent to the declaration of rights and the nineteen decreed articles of the constitution, but to request the use of the entire executive power in the employment of means to supply the capital with the grain and flour of which it has need. The president went to the king with the deputation at about five o'clock, and, the session continuing, the Bishop of Langres, one of the ex-presidents, replaced him. . . .

The citizens and the citizenesses of Paris, awaiting at the bar the reply of the king as to the scarcity of flour experienced in Paris, one of the members of the deputation reported, at about eight o'clock, the reply of his majesty on this particular matter. It is conceived in these terms:

"I am keenly affected by the insufficiency of the provisioning of Paris. I will continue to second the zeal and the efforts of the municipality with all the means and all the resources which are in my power, and I have given the most positive orders for the free circulation of grain on all the routes and the transportation of that destined for the use of my good city of Paris. Signed, Louis."

In addition, the following order was read which the king had just signed, and that M. de Saint-Priest, secretary of state, had countersigned. [The order was addressed to military and municipal officers, instructing them to see to it that the supplies for Paris were not interfered with.]

The assembly, wishing to co-operate as far as it is able in the effort to put an end to the scarcity of bread experienced by Paris, after the reading of the reply of the king, decrees as follows: [A decree concerning food supply].

Finally, in order not to neglect any of the means fit to quiet the popular agitation caused by the scarcity of bread in Paris, the assembly presented through its secretaries to the citizens and citizenesses of the capital, who were at the bar, collated copies of its decrees concerning the bread supply of August 29th and of September 18th, that of the reply of the king and of the orders sent out by his majesty in the evening of that day, and finally the new decree relative to the supply of bread which had just been passed.

The session having been prolonged from nine o'clock until half past nine in the evening, the vice-president adjourned it, after having set the hour for to-morrow at nine o'clock in the morning. The majority of the deputies had left the hall, after the adjournment by the vice-president, when the president returned from the château and the crisis in

which they found themselves determined him to continue the session. He read the reply of the king, who, upon the representations of the assembly, accepted purely and simply the declaration of rights as well as the nineteen articles of the constitution. The reply of his majesty was thus conceived:

"I accept purely and simply the articles of constitution and the declaration of the rights of man which the national assembly has presented to me."

A numerous detachment of the national guard of Paris having arrived at ten o'clock in the evening, the king called into his presence the president who had just left his majesty. The king likewise called to him those of the deputies who were in the hall. The president went to his majesty with a very great number of members. The king said: "I have called you because I wished to surround myself with the representatives of the nation, and to enlighten myself with their advice in these difficult circumstances, but M. de Lafayette arrived before you, and I have already seen him. Assure the national assembly that I have never thought of separating from it, that I never will separate from it."

The agitation in Paris and the great number of inhabitants of the capital who went to Versailles influenced the president at one o'clock to call the deputies together by the beating of drums. The assembly was well attended at half past one. . . .

The president adjourned the session at three o'clock in the morning, after having set the hour of meeting for eleven o'clock of that day.

2. Saint-Priest, *Abrégé*, in Campan, II, 297–304.

The fifth of October, at about eleven o'clock in the morning, one of my valets came from Paris to warn me that the national guard of Paris, paid and unpaid, followed by a numerous populace of men and women, had set out for Versailles. The king was hunting on the heights of Meudon, and I wrote to him to inform him of it. His majesty returned quite promptly and called a council of state for half past three. This council was then composed of eight ministers, the Marshal of Beauveau, the archbishops of Vienne and of Bordeaux, guard of the seals, Necker, minister of finance, and the comtes de Montmorin, de La Luzerne, de La Tour-du-Pin, and de Saint-Priest, secretaries of state. I gave an account to the council of the information I had received, and which had been confirmed since by many other reports. I described the danger there would be in awaiting this multitude in Versailles, and I proposed a plan to be executed in these circumstances. [The plan was to guard the bridges over the Seine and check the advance of the Parisians. If this were not successful the king could fall back on Versailles and retreat to Rambouillet.] My plan was approved by the Marshal of Beauveau, MM. de La Luzerne and La Tour-du-Pin, and vigorously combated by

M. Necker, seconded by the Comte de Montmorin, the archbishops of Vienne and Bordeaux. M. Necker maintained there was no danger in allowing this multitude to arrive at Versailles, where it probably came only to present a petition to the king; that at the worst, should his majesty judge it necessary to establish himself at Paris, he would be venerated and respected there by his people who adored him. I replied by opposing to that both the form and the substance of my plan, which contradicted all these pretended inclinations of the people of Paris. The king did not explain himself upon the course he would follow. He ended the counеil, and we knew he had gone to consult the queen. She declared to him that she would not for any motive separate herself from him and from her children. This would render impossible the plan I suggested. . . . Toward seven o'clock in the evening a sort of Parisian advancè guard, composed of men badly clothed and women of the populace, arrived at the grating of the court of ministers, where they were refused entrance. These people then asked that some women be permitted to go to present a request to the king. His majesty ordered that six of them be allowed to enter, and told me to go and give them a hearing in the Oeil-de-Boeuf. I went there. One of the women, who, as I have since learned, was a woman of the street, acting as spokesman represented to me that there was a scarcity of bread in

Paris, and that the people came to ask some of his majesty. I replied that the king had taken all the steps he could to make good the deficiency of the last crop; I added that calamities of this nature ought to be supported with patience as one supports the drought when the rain fails. I dismissed these women, telling them to return to Paris and assure their fellow citizens of the love of the king for the people of the capital. [That night the king called a council. Hardly were the members seated when Saint-Priest received a letter from Lafayette, written from Auteuil, saying he was coming, that there would be no disorder, and he would be responsible for everything.] After having read M. de Lafayette's letter to the council I presented again my suggestion made after dinner, observing, however, that there was no longer time to return to the measures proposed then; but that it was urgently necessary for the king with his family and his regular troops to set out for Rambouillet. The controversy between M. Necker and myself became more lively than on the first occasion. I described the risks the king and his family were going to run, if they hesitated to leave. I dwelt upon the resources they would have if they quit Versailles for Rambouillet, and I ended by saying to the king: "Sire, if you are taken to Paris to-morrow, your crown is lost." The king was affected and went to speak to the queen, who, this time, consented to go. M. Necker says in one of

his works: "He alone had to decide what course to follow, and he resolved to remain. In a great number of persons, just one, so far as I can remember, voted for going without any modification." It is probably to myself that M. Necker attributes this isolated opinion, but his memory serves him badly, for it is a fact that MM. de Beauveau, de La Luzerne, and de La Tour-du-Pin were constantly of the same opinion as myself.

M. Necker passes over in silence the order which the king on entering the council gave me to make ready the carriages, which terminated the session. I told his majesty that I was going to execute his orders, to have my wife and children start for Rambouillet, and I was going there myself in order to be there at his arrival. I ordered M. le chevalier de Cubières, equerry, to take to the stables the order to prepare the carriages and went home to make my personal arrangements. After having agreed with Madame de Saint-Priest about her departure, I mounted a horse, enveloped myself in a mantle in order not to be recognized, in which I was successful. I had gone hardly a half-league before the carriage of my wife overtook me. She informed me that M. de Montmorin had sent word to her that the king was not going to leave.

3. Necker, *De la révolution*, II, 71–74, 84.

The king was hunting [October 5th]. He was informed immediately of the news which had been

received, and on his return to Versailles he had to decide what course to follow in a difficult situation. His personal sentiment did not incline him to take to flight, and if in the early days there had been an intention to conceal this fact, the officers in service about the king should have been forbidden to say and to repeat that they had heard him, walking with long strides in his room, repeat several times, with a sentiment of repugnance and indignation: "A fugitive king! A fugitive king!"

He decided, however, to order his carriages, but the traces having been cut or detached by the people of Versailles, who wished, it was said, at any risk to prevent the departure of the court, there were new doubts and a second deliberation. The excitement was general within the château, and the queen, within a period of a few hours, held two absolutely different opinions. The monarch, surrounded, environed by his guards, would have conquered, I believe, the resistance of the people, but the excellent goodness of the prince made him hesitate to be the occasion and the witness of a tumult where the shedding of blood would have been, perhaps, inevitable. Yet at the moment and in a situation where the person even of the king might be exposed, it is evident that he alone ought to decide the matter, and he resolved to remain at Versailles. The political question was the only one that his ministers and other persons with whom he took council were called upon to treat,

and this question was then second in order. I heard only the opinions given in the king's study, so I did not know the opinion of the princes, but in a great number of persons, just one, so far as I can remember, voted for the king to go without any modification. . . . The morning of October 6th the king did not hesitate to promise to go to establish himself in Paris. He set out surrounded by the national guards and followed, preceded by an immense throng of people. His soul was sorrowful at the thought of the fate of many of his faithful guards, who had just perished by the assassin's hand; and his eyes could distinguish in the midst of the crowd monsters in human form, who bore as a trophy the frightful signs of their sanguinary ferocity. What a journey! What an inauguration of the future!

4. Lafayette, Marquis de, *Mémoires*, II, 337–343.

Between four and five o'clock word was received that they [the first troop of women] were to be followed by several thousand men and women armed with guns, pikes, and two or three cannon. Then Lafayette, after having received from the city government an order and two commissioners, quickly provided for the protection of Paris, and at the head of several battalions took the road to Versailles. Such was the general sentiment of indignation which animated Paris and the national guard against the first instigators of these disorders, that when he had given the order to march, he was covered with applause

along the way and notably by the crowd of well-dressed people who lined the terrace of the Tuileries. . . . Lafayette, before reaching Versailles, halted the column for a few minutes at the bridge of Sèvres; but this Rubicon once passed, he ordered his troops to drive back any who opposed them. There was no need of it. The regiment of Flanders, minus its officers, sent to ask for orders, and were instructed to remain in their barracks. He [Lafayette] sent the commandant of the city artillery and a general officer to announce to the château his intentions and the orders of the magistrates of Paris. The king sent word to him by another officer, sent in advance, that "he saw him approach with pleasure and that he had just accepted his declaration of rights." Two patrols of the body guard, after the first, "Who goes there?" fell back on the château. Nobody appeared, and if a few shots, to which there was no reply, were fired on the arrival of the advance guard, it was evidently with the intention of engaging an unequal contest which might have become bloody. Near the meeting place of the assembly, Lafayette again halted his troops, spoke to them, and had them renew the civic oath to the nation, the law, and the king. Before again giving the order to advance, he wished to pay his respects to the president and to receive the orders of the king. He presented himself alone with the two commissioners of the commune at the closed and locked grating of the court

of the château, full of Swiss guards. They refused to open the gate, and when Lafayette had announced his intention to enter solely with his two companions, the captain who parleyed with him expressed his astonishment, to which he replied in a loud voice: "Yes, sir, it would always be with a feeling of confidence that I would find myself in the midst of the brave regiment of Swiss guards." The gate was finally opened. The apartments were full of people. When Lafayette crossed the Œil de Bœuf, a man cried out: "There is Cromwell!" "Sir," replied Lafayette, "Cromwell would not have entered alone." It was considered that, in view of the circumstances, he talked well to the king, who received him in public and confided to him the old posts of the French guards. At daybreak he went to call upon M. Montmorin, within reach of his grenadiers, then very close to the château, to the hôtel de Noailles, his headquarters, when the alarm was given by his sentinels and by the officer on duty. The irruption of the brigands, which had taken place suddenly, was soon checked by a company of grenadiers under the orders of Cadigan and by another volunteer company having at its head Captain Gondran. . . . While Lafayette sent rapidly these first succors, he was able, by going quickly to the king, to save a group of body guards. He found the apartments occupied by the national guards, praised their fine conduct, and confided anew the royal family and its

guards to their loyalty. He harangued with warmth and even with violence from the balcony the multitude which filled the court of marble, and when the king and his family, after having promised to go to Paris, had retired from this balcony, he said to the queen: "Madam, what is your personal intention?" "I know the fate which awaits me," she replied, with magnanimity, "but my duty is to die at the feet of the king and in the arms of my children." "Very well, Madam, come with me." "What! Alone on the balcony? Have you not seen the signs they made at me?" In fact, they were terrible. "Yes, Madam, let us go there." And in appearing with her, in face of those waves which roared still in the midst of a fringe of national guards which bordered three sides of the court, but could not repress the center of it, Lafayette, not being able to make himself heard, had recourse to a hazardous but decisive sign; he kissed the hand of the queen. The multitude, struck by this act, cried: "Long live the general! Long live the queen!" The king, who stood a few paces behind, advanced upon the balcony and said, in an affected and grateful tone: "Now, what can you do for my guards?" "Bring me one of them," replied Lafayette. Then giving his cockade to the guard, he embraced him, and the people cried: "Long live the body guards!" From this moment the peace was made. The national guards and the body guards marched to Paris arm

in arm. . . . He [Lafayette] took care to engage the people to march ahead, to have them followed by several battalions, and to retain only the escort necessary for the security of the royal family. In spite of these precautions, they got on slowly. The place of Lafayette was by the side of the carriage of the king, which he accompanied on horseback. He could not go to all the different points to prevent embarrassment and oppose frequent halts. They reached the city hall through an immense crowd. It was night, and there was reason to fear that the fermentation had not yet subsided. But the royal family was received by the representative of the commune with all the marks of respect that one might expect from these excellent citizens. It is known that Bailly, charged by the king to express a few words of attachment for the city, forgot the word *confidence*. The queen called his attention to it, and Bailly, gracefully seizing the opportunity to put her in a favorable light, said: "Gentlemen, in hearing it from the mouth of the queen you are more fortunate than if I had not made the mistake." Lafayette led the cortege to the palace of the Tuileries, which became the residence of the royal family until August, 1792.

5. *Procédure criminelle, Première partie*, No. XXX, 58.

a. Jean-Louis Brousse des Faucherets, forty-three years old, advocate of parliament, lieutenant of the

mayor in the department of public buildings, dwelling in Paris, Rue de Paradis, in the Marais, deposes that Monday, October 5th last, at half past nine or thereabout in the morning, going to the city hall to perform his functions as secretary of the commune, he saw the Place de Grève filled by an enormous crowd of people, who, after having lowered the lantern, cried that they needed bread and demanded the punishment of the authors of the famine they were suffering. Having gone a few steps, he encountered the troops who were on duty to defend the square retiring in confusion, having the butts of their muskets in the air. Among the troops he recognized soldiers of the central troop of his district, of whom he demanded the reason of their departure. These soldiers replied that they were sent away, and when he asked them who had done it, they added, while still retreating, that it was the people. [Finding it impossible to get into the city hall, Brousse returned to his district and remained there until one o'clock.] Then he went to the city hall. He found the large hall, where the general assemblies are usually held, entirely vacant. They told him that the few representatives who were then in the city hall were assembled in the room where the police committee usually meets. He went there. On reaching the antechamber he found the door crowded with four or five grenadiers of the French guards, one of whom was speaking, but he

could not hear what he said. When he came near one of them, he heard silence imposed upon the soldier near him, who was trying to speak. They said to him: "Let him speak; he speaks well." Then he saw M. de Lafayette come out and try to appease these soldiers, who said to him all together: "It is useless to convince us, for all our comrades think the same way, and even if you convinced us you would not change them." M. de Lafayette followed them into the square, and he went with him. . . . He saw the useless efforts made by the commanding general to appease the cries and impetuosity of the soldiers united with the people. There was but one cry: "Let us go to Versailles!" Seeing that he could do no good, and as his duty called him elsewhere, he reentered the city hall, where he encountered a representative whose name he cannot recall, who told him that the grenadiers, who talked at the moment he presented himself at the door of the room of the police committee, had said to M. de Lafayette: "General, the people lack bread; the committee on food either deceive you or they are themselves deceived. We are in a position which cannot last. There is only one way to put an end to it. Let us go to Versailles. They say the king is an imbecile; we will place the crown on the head of his son; a council of regency will be named, and France will be better governed." The person who told him this said that this soldier had a very fine face and a

choice of language which surprised everybody who heard him, and a coolness which astonished still more. [Brousse left the city hall at half past three.] He returned an hour later to the city hall and learned that M. de Lafayette had been compelled by the absolute violence of his troops to march at their head to Versailles, after having obtained an order of the commune which enjoined him to do so. [December 23, 1789.]

5. *Procédure criminelle, Première partie*, No. XXXVIII, 71.

b. Jean-Baptiste Lourdet de Santerre, fifty-seven years of age, counselor of the king in his councils, master in ordinary in his chamber of accounts, dwelling in Paris, Rue Chapon, parish Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs, deposes that the fifth of October last, he betook himself to the city hall at six o'clock in the morning in his character as deputy, to relieve the commissioners who had passed the night there, and who were in the room used for the delivery of passports. Being installed in their place with five of his colleagues, they had scarcely begun to occupy themselves with their affairs when a baker was brought in who was accused of selling bread under weight. This affair concerned the police commission; but as it was not yet assembled, he and his colleagues decided to send the delinquent to a commissioner at the Châtelet. But on the statement made to them by the national guard, who had

brought him in, that it would be difficult to save him from the fury of the people assembled in the Place de Grève, he and his colleagues sent him with the guard who had arrested him to wait the commissioners in the room of the police commission. At nine o'clock in the morning of this same day he heard in the court confused cries. He ran to the window and saw many women, who appeared to be disputing among themselves, whose words he could not hear. In less than half an hour the city hall was filled with a very great number of women, who ran through all the rooms of the city hall. A group of them entered the room where he was and withdrew, saying they had no desire to harm anybody. Four of the deputies had been obliged to leave on account of business of various kinds, and he remained alone with one of his colleagues. A few moments afterward redoubled blows, which he heard rained upon a door, made him think they were trying to force the city hall, and, in fact, they did so, and all the city hall was filled with brigands armed with axes, muskets, sabers, and pikes, who joined the women in forcing all the rooms of the city hall. In the midst of the inhuman cries of this wild troop he still continued his work with his colleague. Finally prudence forced him to withdraw. . . . Toward half past twelve or one o'clock he learned in his district, where he had gone, that the national guard had gained control of the Place de Grève and

the city hall. He went to the assembly of the representatives of the commune and remained there until three o'clock to deliberate on the different courses that might be followed in this moment of effervescence of the inhabitants of Paris, and especially of the immense throng of people which inundated the streets in the vicinity of the city hall. He left at four o'clock to go to dinner. Upon his return at five he found the commanding general and mayor surrounded by a great number of deputies and by a score of grenadiers, former French guards, who cried with vehemence: "General, to Versailles! Hang it! You will not abandon us!" The commanding general employed his affability and eloquence to calm the frenzy of these excited individuals, who constantly repeated: "To Versailles! To Versailles!" Finally he was forced to go out with them, still haranguing them with admirable calmness. He [Lourdet] then followed the mayor and the deputies to the assembly of the commune to take such action as the critical circumstances demanded. A little later some one came to announce that the general had departed for Versailles with a great number of national troops, and that all the armed brigands who had forced the city hall in the morning had also departed for Versailles at about two o'clock in the afternoon with an innumerable throng of women. [December 29, 1789.]

5. *Procédure criminelle, Suite de la,* No. CLXXXV, 26.

c. Gérard-Henri de Blois, forty-two years old, advocate of parliament, dwelling in Paris, Rue du Battoir, parish Saint-Côme, deposes that as representative of the commune he went to the city hall for the night service, the night of Sunday, the fourth, to Monday, the fifth, of October last. Toward seven o'clock on the morning of Monday he was alone in the police room. The first indication of a riot was the arrest of a baker, near Saint-Eustache, charged with having sold a two-pound loaf of bread seven ounces under weight. A detachment of the national guard brought him in. M. de Gouvion, major general, came to inform him of the matter, saying that the people who were in the square demanded that the baker be strung up to the lantern. After he had questioned the baker, who acknowledged his guilt, he said to M. de Gouvion, who feared that the people would come and seize the baker, that they ought, both of them, to do all they could to prevent this assassination. The baker, whom he had concealed, had the good fortune to escape before the city hall was surrounded, a movement which commenced a few minutes later. About eight o'clock in the morning, informed by M. de Gouvion that it was the intention to lay siege to the city hall, he saw, in fact, the first group of women enter the court of the city hall. They were for the most part young, dressed in white, their hair dressed and faces powdered,

having a merry air and showing no bad intentions. They entered the different halls, and notably that where the police committee met, and another near by where passports are distributed. He talked with them. They were very polite, and he replied to all their questions which had no other object than to know the use of the halls. . . . The number of women increased considerably until eleven in the morning. He saw one group mount the staircase which led to the belfry and ring the bell. Another laughed, sang, and danced in the court, asking from time to time: "Where is M. Bailly? Where is M. de Lafayette?" He also saw women force the concièrge of the jail to set the prisoners at liberty. . . . Having examined the dress, the figures, and the faces of these women, he saw very few who would be classed with the vile populace. Having expressed his astonishment to some persons that only women entered the city hall, while the Place de Grève was full of men and nobody prevented them from entering, the reply was that the women had forbidden them to enter. About half past eleven he heard a great uproar on the side of the Saint-Jean arcade. Going to this side, he saw a considerable number of men force the doors which are under this arcade, with logs, hammers, and other instruments. Soon the doors were broken in and a very numerous populace spread in every direction through the city hall, without at this time, however, entering by the grand

staircase. At the sight of all these people, not doubting that they had evil intentions, he left the city hall, because there were few representatives of the commune there and as the heads of the municipality were not present. Toward two o'clock he returned with M. de Vauvilliers, whom he met in the Cordeliers district. Both of them went to the room of the police committee. There he saw M. de Lafayette surrounded by two grenadiers, former French guards. One, with a very excited air, was saying to M. de Lafayette: "General, they are deceiving you." When he asked him to name the persons who were abusing his confidence, he [the grenadier] replied: "We will name them for you, but we must go to Versailles." At this remark M. de Lafayette walked off, still accompanied by the two grenadiers. Then he could hear only very imperfectly what was said, but shortly afterward some one, whose name he does not recall, said to him: "The grenadiers are forcing M. de Lafayette to go to Versailles; he is opposed to it, saying that the king might leave his usual residence; one of the grenadiers replied: 'If the king leaves Versailles we will put his son on the throne.'" This same remark was heard, no doubt, by other persons, as he heard it repeated in the hall of the commune by M. Brousse de Faucherets, among other people. The representatives of the commune being then assembled in the great hall, he saw several of the aides of M.

de Lafayette arrive, one after the other, announcing that his life was in danger, that they threatened him with the lantern, that on all sides were heard the cries: "To Versailles! To Versailles!" Then the assembly thought it ought to yield to force and give the order to the general to set out for Versailles. [December 24, 1789.]

5. *Procédure criminelle, Première partie*, No. LXXXI, 117.

d. Stanislas-Marie Maillard, twenty-six years old, captain of the volunteers of the Bastile, living in Paris, Rue de Béthizi, parish Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, deposes that Monday, the fifth of last October, at seven o'clock in the morning, he went to the city hall to make a claim upon the commune in the name of the volunteers; but the commune not being assembled, the halls were, on the contrary, filled with women who tried to break in, and who broke in the doors of the city hall, which led him to descend into the guard room for the purpose of asking orders of M. de Gouvion [Lafayette's aide] in order to remedy and prevent the damage these women might commit. M. de Gouvion begged him earnestly not to leave him and to aid in quieting the people. [An uprising is reported in the Saint-Antoine section. After restoring order there, Maillard returns to the city hall.] At this time he was not able to enter the city hall. It was occupied by a crowd of women who would have no men among them, and who

repeated without ceasing that the city government was composed of aristocrats. He was taken for a member of the government because he was dressed in black, and they refused him entrance, which obliged him to change his clothes. But in descending the steps of the city hall he was stopped by five or six women who made him return, crying to all the others that it was a volunteer of the Bastile, and that there was nothing to be feared from him; that then, having penetrated into the midst of them, he found some of them forcing the doors downstairs, others seizing the papers in the halls, saying that it [writing] was all that had been done since the beginning of the revolution, and that they were going to burn them. He, with the aid of a person named Richard Maillard Dupin, invited them to keep quiet. These women repeated that the men did not have nerve enough to avenge themselves, and that they would show themselves better than the men. Having gone for a moment to the court, on returning he saw a crowd of men going up the steps, armed with pikes, lances, forks, and other weapons, having forced the women to let them enter. These men cast themselves upon the doors which the women had attacked, and forced them by means of heavy hammers they had and crowbars which they found in the city hall. They took all the arms they found and gave some of them to the women. He was told that women were coming with torches to burn the papers

which remained in the city hall. He went out, threw himself upon these women, to the number of two, who bore each a lighted torch and were just entering the city hall. He took the torches from them, which nearly cost him his life because he opposed their project. He remarked to them that they could send a delegation to the commune for the purpose of asking justice and describing the situation in which they found themselves, as all asked for bread. But they replied that the whole commune was composed of bad citizens, all of whom deserved to be hung to the lantern, and first of all M. Bailly and M. de Lafayette. [February 27, 1790.]

[Maillard consulted with M. Derminy, adjutant major general of the militia, with headquarters at the city hall, as to what should be done. The women were planning to go to Versailles; Maillard suggested that he become their leader.] The said M. Derminy replied he could give no orders of this nature, that it would be contrary to the interest of the citizens, that he [Maillard] might do everything which seemed best to him, provided that it did not disturb the public peace. He replied to the said M. Derminy that it could do no harm, and that it was the sole means of freeing the city hall and the capital; that by this same means one would succeed in getting the districts under arms, that in the time they [the women] were making four leagues the army could anticipate the evil these women proposed to do.

He then got a drummer at the door of the city hall, where the women were gathered in very large numbers. Detachments of them set out into different quarters to make recruits and arranged a rendezvous in the Square Louis XV. He saw several men place themselves at their head and harangue them in a way likely to arouse sedition. He believed it his duty to make known to these women that these men would lead them into trouble. . . . To the first drummer, mentioned above, two others had been added, and they followed the street along the quay of the Orfèvres, of l'École, up to the last gate of the Louvre, where, in the midst of the square, a lady with her husband being encountered in a carriage, several of these women went to the carriage and made the lady descend. Her husband did not abandon her, and begged him to use his influence with the women that they might go free, which he was not able to do in spite of all the civilities he made use of. He halted the women. He told them that this woman would probably not refuse to go to Versailles with them, but that at least they ought to permit her to go in her carriage with her husband. They refused this proposition, and it was only the tears of the lady which affected some of the women. Others were inexorable, which caused a disturbance among them, and they struck one another. During this time he begged the women who held this lady to let her go, and obtained her liberty. These women continued

their route and forced him to pass through the garden of the Tuileries. He objected that it was impossible, that the Swiss would oppose them, and that it would be an insult to his majesty to cross his gardens in this way, and especially in such large numbers. [The women gave Maillard the choice between crossing the garden or abandoning the leadership. They crossed, having a mêlée with the Swiss]. They reached the Square Louis XV., assigned by these women as rendezvous, but as the people had gathered in large numbers, this square did not seem a fitting place to meet in, and they decided to go to the midst of the Champs-Élysées, the Place d'Armes, where he saw groups of women arrive from all sides armed with broom handles, lances, forks, swords, pistols, and guns, none of them, however, having any ammunition, as they wished to force him to go to seek powder at the arsenal with a detachment of them. [Maillard] pretended there was no powder at the arsenal, although he knew better; but he believed it prudent, as they wished to go to the national assembly only to ask justice and bread, that they should go there without arms, and that they would soften the assembly sooner in presenting themselves without arms than in employing force. By means of prayers and protestations he succeeded in making the women abandon their arms, except a few who refused, but whom others, more wise, forced to yield. . . . They took the route to

Versailles, having at their head eight or ten drummers. These women at that time might have amounted to six or seven thousand. They passed through Chaillot, along the river. All the houses were closed, through fear of pillage, no doubt. These women, in spite of that, went to knock at all the doors, and when they were refused entrance they wished to break them down, and made a business of taking away the signs. Seeing this, and wishing to prevent the ruin of the inhabitants, he halted all the women and told them that it would not reflect honor upon them to comport themselves in this way, and that he would abandon the leadership if they went on in this way, and their actions might be looked upon in an unfavorable light. On the contrary, if they went along peacefully, all the citizens of the capital would appreciate it. They finally yielded to his remonstrances and advice and continued their route in an orderly manner to Sèvres. Meanwhile, at intervals along the road, they intercepted various couriers and carriages of the court going to Versailles, because of the fear, they said, that the bridge of Sèvres might be closed to prevent them from passing without doing any harm to anybody. Arrived at the Sèvres bridge, he halted them. [A group of seven armed men, chosen from those following the women, were sent forward to Sèvres. Their instructions were] to discover where the bakers were and to request them to give and distribute

what bread they might have on hand, assuring them that no harm or wrong would be done them, the women having promised him this. After having given this order, he and the women continued their route without encountering any obstacle as far as Sèvres, not even a guard. Arrived at Sèvres, they found, in fact, all the refreshment places and wine shops closed. A messenger from those sent ahead came to inform him that all the bakers had been visited, and that only eight loaves of bread of four pounds had been found; that the bakers cut it up into small pieces to distribute to the women. . . . He was obliged to report to the women what he had just heard, which excited murmurs among them and made them scatter here and there to hatch plots which made him fear for the inhabitants of Sèvres. [Maillard had the drums beaten, and made use of the well-disposed women in the effort to influence the others. He was not successful.] The women went to all the doors and shops of the wine merchants, tavern keepers, and other citizens, even entered the courts and took the benches and other pieces of wood, and set to work to break down the doors and tear down the signs of all the merchants. He had the drums beaten to call together the citizens of Sèvres, and put in a state of defense against the evils which threatened them. But instead of these citizens there arrived a crowd of armed men whom he believed at first to be the citizens of the place; on

the contrary, they were men famished by the loss of the citizens of Sèvres, and who, with their wives, attacked furiously all the doors near them. Then he followed the course of having the drums beaten, assembled all the men and women, and made them understand that they would be taken for bandits rather than citizens, for which they announced themselves. It would avail much more to remain quiet; that he was going to knock at different doors to get food and wine, if there was any. In fact, he went to one in front of the gate in the park. A sick man presented himself and said, in response to his request to give wine and bread, if he had any, that he had no bread, but he had wine. He had him draw ten or twelve jugs, which he had distributed among all the women by armed men. Some paid, others did not pay. He told this individual to give as much of it as the women wanted, that he would pay with his own money, and if he did not have enough he would give him an order on the city. But this individual said he regretted he did not have more, and that he would make the sacrifice of it without retribution. Several women thanked him. They set out, the men following behind, which did not cause him any less fear. . . . Accompanied by the women, he continued his route to reach Versailles, and having passed Virofflay, they encountered several individuals on horseback, who appeared to be bourgeois, having black cockades in their hats.

They stopped them and were inclined to take extreme measures against them, saying they ought to perish because of the insult they had offered and were offering to the national cockade. They struck one, dragging him from his horse, tearing from him his black cockade, which one of the women gave to him [Maillard].

. . . He obtained his pardon on condition that he would surrender his horse, march behind them, and at the first place [they reached] they would place a placard on his back (as having insulted the national cockade). This individual consented to everything, provided they left him his life. One of the women mounted the horse and set off to notify Versailles that they were coming. A little farther on they encountered two more bourgeois on horseback wearing black cockades. The horses and cockades were confiscated. As they approached Versailles [Maillard] arranged the women in three rows as well as he could and formed a circle. He said to them that the three pieces of cannon they had could not be dragged at the head of the column. In spite of the fact that they had no powder, it might be suspected that their intentions were bad. They ought rather to make a show of gayety than to cause a riot in Versailles. This city not being informed of their action, the inhabitants might suspect them of other views, and they would be the victims of their devotion. They consented to do what he wished. Consequently the cannon were placed behind them,

and he invited the women to sing, "*Long live Henry IV.!*" on entering Versailles, and to cry, "*Long live the king!*" which they did not cease to repeat in the midst of this people who awaited them, and who cried, "*Long live our Parisians!*" They arrived at the door of the national assembly, where he said it would be imprudent for more than five or six women to present themselves. They refused, and all wanted to enter. An officer of the guard, who was at the assembly, joined him and invited them not to send more than a dozen. [March 3, 1790.]

After much discussion with his women, there were found fifteen among them who went with him to the bar of the national assembly. Of these fifteen women he knew only the woman Varennes, of whom he had previously spoken. . . . Having arrived there, he engaged the said women to remain silent and to let him present to the assembly their requests, which they had communicated to him on the way. To this they consented. Then he asked the president for the floor. M. Mounier, then president, gave it to him. He said that two or three persons in a court carriage, whom he had met on the way, had told him that they were informed that an abbé connected with the assembly had given to a miller two hundred livres to prevent him from grinding—with a promise to give him as much each week. The national assembly loudly demanded that he [Maillard] should name him. He was unable to satisfy their request,

inasmuch as he remembered neither the names of those whom these people had denounced to him, nor those of the denunciators even. That what he could say was that he remembered that they lived in the Rue du Platre Ste.-Avoye. The assembly still persisting in the desire to know the name of the person denounced, M. de Robespierre, deputy from Artois, took the floor. He said that the stranger introduced into the august diet was quite right, and that he believed the matter had been mentioned that morning; that the Abbé Gregoire could throw some light on the subject, which freed him [Maillard] from giving it himself. He having the floor, said that to establish tranquillity, to restore quiet, and prevent disorders, he begged the gentlemen of the assembly to name a delegation which should go to the body guards for the purpose of requesting them to take the national cockade, and to make reparation for the injury it was said they had done to this cockade. Several members of the assembly raised their voices and said it was false, that the guards of the king had never insulted the national cockade; that all those who wished to be citizens could be it of their own free will, and that no one could be forced to do it. He took the floor and, showing three black cockades, which were those of which he had previously spoken, said that there should be no person in existence who did not feel it was an honor to be [a citizen]; that if there were

in this august assembly members who considered themselves dishonored by the title, they should be expelled at once. There was much applause and the hall resounded with cries of, "Yes, all ought to be, and we are all citizens!" During the applause a national cockade was brought to him from the body guards, which he showed to all the women that they might know of the submission of these first. All the women cried: "Long live the king! Long the gentlemen of the body guards!" He then asked the president for the floor, and said that it was also essential to prevent disorder and settle the doubts which prevailed in the capital upon the arrival of the regiment of Flanders at Versailles, that this regiment should be sent away, because the citizens feared a revolution by means of them. M. Mounier replied that he would instruct the king that evening on his return from the chase, where it was said he was. He replied that he would be glad to believe the contrary of the suspicions and cries which circulated and agitated the capital, that, however, he believed for the good of the citizens the king should be induced to declare that he would send the regiment away, by giving him the idea that it meant always one thousand mouths to feed, and that in a time of distress and of lack of bread, in which we found ourselves, that this regiment could be more easily fed in a provincial city than close to the capital, where bread was worth three livres, twelve

sous for four pounds. A member, a chevalier de Saint-Louis, took the floor and charged that it was false; that he came from Paris; that he knew there was difficulty in getting bread, but it was not worth more than twelve and a half sous, and that he [Maillard] was imposing on the assembly. He replied that he was going to give proof of what he had stated, and said that no woman could stand in the crowd at the baker's door, that only a man could do so; that in this way, this man, in losing his day, lost three livres and twelve sous, which the bread cost him; that made a total of three livres and twelve sous for him. That it was necessary to prevent such disorders as were caused by provincial cities which allowed themselves to intercept wagons of grain or meal destined for the capital, on the ground that they were in want in their cities, and a decree should be issued against all persons who permitted themselves to do these things without legitimate cause. The president replied that a deputation would be sent to his majesty to get his approval of all he [Maillard] had just requested, but that it could not go until evening inasmuch as the king had just returned from the hunt. He [Maillard] said that if they did not wish to go immediately to his majesty he would consider himself under obligations to go himself to warn him of the dangers which menaced the capital at the time of their departure; that, without doubt, his majesty would not refuse

to receive the delegation of deputies; that his majesty had, probably, seen or could learn that the women of Paris were in Versailles in very large numbers, which ought to cause him some uneasiness. The president said he was going to name the deputation immediately, that he would be a member of it, and that they would then go to his majesty. They departed, in truth, telling him to induce the women to be patient, that time was necessary to assemble the ministers of the king, and we could be sure that he would do all in his power to fulfil our wishes. When they were gone he felt he ought to stop the remarks the women were making, and prevent them from getting worked up against the clergy. The proof he had of it at this time was that an abbé, wearing a cross, came to propose to one of these women, in order to keep her quiet, that she should kiss his hand. This woman struck it and replied that she was no drab to kiss the paw of a dog. The abbé retired, and all the women shouted: "Down with the calotte! It's the entire clergy that causes our trouble!" To prevent the fury of these women from giving vent to itself, he asked the president for the floor, which was granted him. He said, in order to restrain and satisfy these women, that all the citizens of the capital were assured that they occupied themselves seriously in this august assembly with forming a good constitution, but he had heard, and it was the general cry in the capital, that it is

the clergy who thwarted it without ceasing. A member on the left of the president, a chevalier of Saint-Louis, took the floor and said that when a stranger, introduced into an august diet, permits himself to inculpate members of the assembly, he should undergo exemplary punishment on the spot. But he [Maillard] asked the president that he might be heard, and said that he had never intended to inculpate anybody; that he believed, on the contrary, he rendered a service to the members of the clergy, who did not believe themselves culpable, but that he imagined that when the one who was denounced did not know the motive of his accusation, he could not justify himself. He begged the gentlemen of the clergy not to harbor any ill-will against him; that he had said what he did say only with the intention of preventing disorders with which the clergy were not acquainted. . . . M. de Robespierre delivered, then, a speech full of patriotism which quieted all the women for the moment. . . . A dozen women entered the national assembly and said that the body guards had just fired upon them; that one of them had been seized, and they waited for him [Maillard] to come outside to decide the kind of death he deserved. At the same moment a discharge of musketry was heard, which caused alarm in the assembly, and he was requested by several deputies to take steps at once to prevent trouble. He went out to the women. He saw a body guard

who was being detained by the bridle of his horse. He wished to dismount, but the women would not let him, doing him no harm, only making injurious remarks. When the body guard saw him approach to speak to him, he drew his saber, cut the reins of his horse, the point striking the shoulder of a woman, and saved himself. He attempted to run after him, but could not catch him. The body guard in escaping discharged a pistol behind, but did not strike him. He [Maillard] re-entered the national assembly, after having bound all these women not to go nearer the château. At about eight o'clock in the evening the president, accompanied by the deputation, returned from his visit to the king. He reported the words of the king, which all the assembly heard and the people appeared to respect, as they tended only to restore tranquillity among his people. Then he read five documents relative to the request the national guard had made of the national assembly and of the king concerning food supply. His majesty had ordered that two officers should accompany him [Maillard] on his return to Paris, but the women opposed this, and said that they alone would escort him. They [the documents] were transcribed upon the registers of the assembly, and copies of them delivered to him by Vicomte de Mirabeau, and immediately afterward he returned to Paris with some of these women in a court carriage and encountered in the Avenue de

Versailles the national guard of Paris. [March 4, 1790.]

5. *Procédure criminelle, Première partie*, No. LXXXII, 132.

e. Jeanne Martin, age forty-nine years, nurse, wife of Jean Lavarenne, porter of the little Hôtel d'Aligre, with whom she lives in the Rue Bailleul, in the parish of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, deposes that on Monday, the fifth of last October, she was forced by about twoscore of women, in the passage of the Louvre, near the garden of l'Infant, to go with them to Versailles; that they put a cudgel in her hand, threatening to maltreat her if she did not march. She observed to them that she had not lunched, that she had not a sou. They replied to her: "March! March! You shall lack nothing!" To avoid the rough usage with which she was menaced she followed these women. Having reached the Tuileries, and having attempted to pass through the garden, the Swiss Fréderic objecting to it gave rise to a brawl between this Swiss and M. Maillard, who was with them and at their head. Seeing two swords drawn and fearing a mishap, she delivered upon the swords a blow with the club she carried, by which blow the combatants were disarmed. A man armed with a bayonet having attempted to fall upon the Swiss, a woman quite poorly dressed, having in her hand the blade of a rusty sword without a hilt, having attempted to strike a blow at this Swiss, she

[Jeanne Martin] and some other women opposed them, and in the scuffle she [Jeanne Martin] was wounded in the hand. They all passed through the Tuileries and continued their route to Versailles, with some other women who joined them in the Square Louis XV., in the Cour la Reine, and outside the barrier. Arrived at Sèvres, near the porcelain manufactory, they encountered two gentlemen, one of whom had a *cordon noir*, the other wore a green coat, who said to them: "Where are you going, ladies?" They replied: "We are going to Versailles to ask from the king bread for ourselves, for our husbands and our children, and the provisioning of the capital." These individuals said: "Go, my children, comport yourselves well, don't insult anybody. Peace be with you." Then a woman, whom she [Jeanne Martin] did not know, but who was armed with a sword, said: "Yes, yes, we are going to Versailles. We are going to carry the head of the queen on the point of a sword." The other women imposed silence upon her. The deponent observed that along the route she had observed the passage of various couriers; that one among others whom the women tried to stop had escaped them, after having thrown into the river a portfolio with which he was burdened. Another courier, belonging to the Duc d'Orléans, was allowed to pass freely, starting from Passy to go to Versailles. All along the route they had seen other couriers. When they arrived at

Versailles the regiment of Flanders was under arms on the left of the château, and the body guard in front of the grating. They sought to enter the court, but were prevented from doing so. A man clothed in the uniform of the Parisian guard, armed with a saber, having traversed the ranks of the king's guard, a guard separated himself from the others, ran upon him, saber in hand, and gave him a blow which knocked his hat off. Three other guards of the king likewise left the ranks with drawn sabers, ran after this man on the side of the barracks. Then she lost sight of them. The women, not having been able to get into the courts of the château, went, she likewise, to the national assembly. M. Maillard was still at their head. A score of women, of whom she [Jeanne Martin] was one, were taken to the bar of the national assembly. They were received with great joy and affability. They were seated upon a bench. It was the said Maillard who, alone at first, spoke, asking for bread for them, their husbands and their children, and the provisioning of the capital. Two members of the assembly were delegated with nine women to call upon the king. Seven only entered, so they told her. She remained at the bar of the assembly. The deputation returned from its call upon the king only at ten o'clock. The reply of the king was read. It was then given to the Vicomte de Mirabeau, from whose hands she received it to remit it to Maillard, who was to carry

it promptly to the city hall. The session of the assembly having closed at about one o'clock, she and many other women slept in the hall. She saw no man disguised as a woman. Nothing occurred offensive to honesty and decency. At five o'clock, on the morning of the 6th, she and two other women, whose names and residences are unknown to her, left the hall and went to the Place d'Armes and then to the château, where they saw a great crowd gather which clambered upon the gratings to get into the château, the gates not yet being open. At this moment several guards of the king, from the interior of the château, fired upon the people with their muskets. She noted and recognized three or four of them by their dress and cross-belts. By this discharge a citizen was killed in the court of marble. The guard of the king who had killed this citizen was led to the Place d'Armes, where he lost his life. Another guard of the king, having driven a poignard into the arm of a citizen, who was severely wounded and taken to the hospital, this guard of the king was at once wounded by a blow of an ax, which cut off half his face, and he was then taken to the Place d'Armes, where he was killed by the side of the first. A man of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, having a long beard and armed with an ax, had cut off the heads of the said guards of the king. Several guards of the king, likewise menaced by the women, were saved by the grenadiers of the national guard. She her-

self helped one of them by parrying a blow aimed at him with a lance, which blow she received on her right arm, and from which she was dangerously wounded.

Shortly after M. de Lafayette announced that the king was going to appear. In fact, the king and the royal family appeared on the balcony. Then the people cried: "Long live the king! Long live the nation! Long live the dauphin!" She and some other women having cried: "Long live the queen!" women of the people struck them to make them keep silent. The people cried: "Long live the king! The king to Paris! The king to Paris!" The king having consented to this, other cries of, "Long live the king!" were heard. The queen, accompanied by M. de Lafayette, appeared on the balcony, and the latter speaking, said: "The queen feels badly to see what she sees before her eyes. She has been deceived. She promises that she will be no longer. She promises to love her people and be attached to them as Jesus Christ is to his church." In sign of approbation the queen, weeping, raised her hand twice. The king asked pardon for his guards, and the people repeated his words. The guards of the king, on their side, cried: "Long live the king! Long live the nation!" and threw their hats and cross-belts, and some even money, from the windows. The grenadiers put their bonnets on the guards of the king, and also cried: "Long live the

king! Long live the nation!" At this moment the king declared that at noon he would set out for Paris. After that she set out alone to return. On her way, having reached the hamlet of Point du Jour, certain individuals recognized her, made her get into their carriage, and brought her home. [March 5, 1790.]

5. *Procédure criminelle, Première partie*, No. LXXIII, 109.

f. Alexis Grincourt, about forty-two years of age, master upholsterer, living at Versailles, Rue de la Paroisse Notre Dame, deposes that, the same day [October 5th], at about five o'clock in the evening, he being in the Place d'Armes, saw some women of the lower class come from Paris. Their arrival caused some uneasiness. The guards of the king assembled in the above mentioned square. An individual clothed in the coat of the Parisian national guard, having traversed the ranks of the guards of the king, one of them ran upon him with a drawn saber in his hand, seeking to strike him. The blows were parried by the individual with his saber, who then took refuge in the barracks. Two other guards of the king went after this individual, either to arrest him or to prevent unpleasant consequences. It was at this moment that M. de Savonnières was struck by a shot from a gun fired at him by an individual miserably dressed. The drums beat to arms. Then the national soldiers of Versailles were

called to arms, and assembled at the main guard house in the Place d'Armes. At about eight o'clock the order was given them to retire, which they did. The guards of the king were likewise withdrawn, and as they retired they were hissed by some of the people of the lower class. The rear of the column having fired some pistol shots, no doubt to intimidate the people—for no one was wounded, at least to his [Grincourt's] knowledge—a discharge of about sixty guns was made upon the guards of the king. He did not know whether any of them were wounded, not having any acquaintance with them. Tuesday, the sixth of October, at seven or thereabouts, he saw two heads carried at the ends of pikes. He went to the marble court, where he saw the corpse of a person who had his head broken. Two persons clad in the uniform of the national guard of Paris held by the collar a guard of the king who appeared to have come from the apartments, to whom they showed this corpse and attributed his death to him. This guard of the king protested his innocence of the unhappy deed. Notwithstanding his protestations, the people shouted: "He must be hung! He must be hung!" He and some other persons having begun to shout: "He must be taken to Paris! to Paris!" they succeeded in taking him to the main guard house, where, on the arrival of M. de Lafayette, this guard of the king was taken from the hands of those who were seeking to sacrifice him. [February 26, 1790.]

5. *Procédure criminelle, Suite*, No. CCLXIX, 136.

g. Simon-Louis-Pierre de Cubières, forty-one years of age, equerry of the king, living in Versailles at the little stables, deposes that Monday, fifth of October last, at half past two, being at the little stables of the king in Versailles, a letter was brought to him to be sent to the king. Through zeal, he asked to be permitted to carry it, knowing the place where the king was hunting. He set out at once and overtook the king, who was shooting in the woods of Meudon. Having given the king the letter, he read it and had the goodness to say to him that there had been a disturbance the night before at the grain market; that they informed him that women were coming from Paris to ask for bread. The king added, in a voice touched by emotion: "Alas! if I had it, they would not need to come to ask me for it." Shortly after the king decided to mount his horse to return to Versailles. As he was putting his foot in the stirrup, a chevalier of Saint-Louis, unknown to him [Simon-Louis-Pierre] came to say to the king that he arrived from Paris; that he came to offer his services to his majesty; that he was ready to defend him even to the last drop of his blood. To which the king replied to this officer that he was touched by his zeal, but that he had no need of his services. When the king had mounted, he charged M. de Briges to go back to ask the name of the officer. M. de Briges returned and said to the king

that this officer refused to tell his name. He returned to Versailles with the king, conducted him to his cabinet, and knows nothing further, as a witness, of what took place. [May 21, 1790.]

5. *Procédure criminelle, Première partie*, No. LXI, 98.

h. Jean-Jacques de Tergat, almost fifty years of age, captain of infantry, lieutenant of the company of the guards of the provost of the city and of the grand provost of France, living at Versailles, Place Dauphine, and at Paris, Rue Saint-Honoré, No. 614, deposes that all he knows of the events in question is that being on duty at the national assembly at Versailles on the fifth of October last, warned by what he had heard the evening before, that women and men of Paris, in very great number, were coming to carry off the king, the royal family, and the national assembly, and informed at eleven o'clock in the morning that men and women had been seen in the plain of Sèvres armed with pikes, guns, and other arms, who were dragging cannon, he saw them arrive about half past four in the Avenue de Paris and enter the national assembly. The first group was nearly all women. They had at their head an individual whom they called Maillard, and in whom they appeared to have great confidence. The matter having been reported to the president, he ordered that a dozen of them should be allowed to enter. In accordance with this order, about a score of these women entered, having at their head the said Mail-

lard and another individual, who they said was a former French guard, and from whose neck they had taken away the cord as he was about to be hung for having sounded the alarm bell. Maillard, who was spokesman, said they had come to ask for bread, and that they were certain money had been distributed to the millers to keep them from grinding, but they could furnish no proof of this fact. The assembly continued its session and passed a decree upon food supply, and carried it at once to the king, who sanctioned it. In the midst of all this, some one came to inform him [Tergat] that the court was filling again with people. Having gone out, he found a considerable number of women who asked to enter to see Maillard. M. Gaudron Dutilloy, major of his company, who had been notified in advance of the arrival of these women, who had gone to the assembly hall with a detachment of sixty men, did everything possible in concert with him to insure the tranquillity of the assembly. In the midst of these people he had heard uttered, he does not know by whom, a great mass of remarks and horrors against the queen, which made clear the design they had of subjecting her to the most atrocious treatment. These things he and M. Dutilloy, who ran the risk of losing their lives at this moment, heard very clearly, and they were repeated several times. Seeing the court full of these people, and on account of the bad weather, he made them enter a

wooden house recently constructed for a committee room. The court having filled again with men and women, he asked those who were in the public galleries of the assembly to retire, which they did, and he put in their places the people who had recently arrived in the court. Having noted many people armed with pikes, and others who wished to enter into the court in spite of the guard, he called Maillard, who, having come, spoke to the people, restrained them, and succeeded in inducing them to abandon their arms before entering. The court having filled a third time, at his suggestion the president and the members of the assembly consented to let everybody enter the hall. After the last session of the assembly had ended, as far as possible food and drink were supplied to everybody. About eight, nine or ten hundred passed the night in the hall. As they were spattered with mud and wet, some took off the skirts they had over their trousers, and others the trousers and stockings they had under their skirts, to dry them. During the night there passed among these people indecent scenes which he considers useless to recount. During the course of the same night, on visiting the posts and having arrived at that one near the treasury and the archives, he heard the grenadiers talking together, and one of them said to his companions that the report was going about that they ought to force the body guards to defile before the national guard, hats in

hand, and bend the knee. This report was so distasteful to one of the grenadiers that he said he would prefer to be cut to pieces rather than suffer such humiliation. A man dressed in a uniform, with the epaulets of a Parisian national guard, said that it was necessary to kill them all, even to the last one, to tear out their hearts, to fricassee them and dine upon them. These remarks, he had heard, had so exasperated the people present, this individual had barely time to escape, for without this flight he would have fared ill. Toward five o'clock in the morning, as only a hundred and fifty people remained in the hall, he made clear to them that it was necessary for them to withdraw, as the deputies were to sit at an early hour. They all agreed to do so, and withdrew in a friendly way. [February 23, 1790.]

5. *Procédure criminelle, Suite*, No. CCCLXXIII, 28.

j. Felix Alandre Gallemand, twenty years of age, secretary in the committee of the constitution of the national assembly, living in Paris, Place Vendôme, No. 4, deposes that, about six o'clock [the morning of the sixth], he saw a very large troop of people of both sexes armed with pikes, cudgels, and other arms enter the court of the ministers by the iron gate, which was open according to custom, and advance as far as the iron gate of the royal court, which they refused to open for them. Then this troop divided into two bands; the one went to the court of the

chapel, and the other to the court of the princes. This last one reached the royal court by the passage which connects it with that of the princes. It presented itself at the foot of the grand staircase, where entrance was refused by the Cent-Suisses, who were there on guard. A former French guard, having taken the post, let a very small number pass. During this time a body guard, who was on the balcony, was fired at by a Parisian national guard, who was alone among this troop of people armed with pikes and cudgels. The guard of the king was not struck by the shot, and replied to it by a pistol shot which blew out the brains of the national guard. Then the people with pikes rushed forward in a crowd and furiously mounted the staircase and threw themselves upon several guards of the king, who were overpowered. This same troop went immediately to the apartment of the queen, led by a man poorly dressed. The guard of the king, who was on duty at the door of this apartment, was killed while defending the entrance, but yet he had time to cry through the keyhole, "Save the queen!" One of his comrades came to take his place, to defend the entrance to the apartment. He got a blow on the head from the butt of a musket, given him by a soldier of the guard of Versailles, who, he had since been told, was a carpenter employed by the royal government. This man, believing the body guard to be dead, took his two watches and money away from him, and left

him and entered the apartment of the queen, with others of the pikemen in large numbers. [July 3, 1790.]

5. *Procédure criminelle, Suite*, 60.

k. Nicolas la Roque de Saint-Virieu, twenty-one years of age, king's body guard, Scotch company, living at Port-Audemer, Rue aux Juifs, parish Saint-Ouen, deposes that, the sixth of the same month of October, at six o'clock in the morning, he relieved the sentinel of the queen's hall. At a quarter after six he learned that the court of the château was filled with people armed with pikes, sabers, and guns, and he soon heard them moving with frightful cries toward the grand staircase. Five or six of his comrades, who were with him in the hall of the queen, went quickly to the head of the staircase to attempt to appease the people mentioned, and to ask them to descend. As soon as these last saw them they cried: "Down with your arms!" and fell at once upon his comrades, which caused them to re-enter the hall as quickly as possible and close the door promptly. At the same moment he and his comrades decided to go to the queen, persuaded that it was her majesty they were after and that they had no time to lose in saving her. They had, in fact, hardly entered the first apartment when the door opening on the staircase was broken in, but a screen which was before them gave them time to close the door of the apartment after they had entered, and

prevented them from being seen by anybody. They penetrated to the antechamber of the queen, but could not enter, the door being barred on the inside. One of the queen's women, who did not take them for body guards, refused to open the door of the antechamber, or, at least, she did not at first reply to the urgent requests that it be opened for them. This woman made a great lament. He spoke to her through the keyhole, and having made her understand that they were really body guards, and that the queen was in the greatest danger if they were not permitted to enter the antechamber, this woman decided at last to open the door. He called attention to the fact that in speaking to this woman he made no more noise than was necessary for her to hear him. The door of the antechamber being opened, the woman of whom he had just spoken cast herself at their feet and conjured them not to abandon the queen. They replied they would save her majesty even at the peril of their lives and that there were enough of them to resist as long as it would be necessary to enable her majesty to arise and withdraw. He and two or three of his comrades were at once introduced into the very chamber of the queen. One of her majesty's women came to say to them that the queen was about to rise. They retired at once and drew up at the door outside the apartment. When the queen had risen, she went to the room of the king, who shortly after entered the queen's

chamber from the opposite side. The king asked eagerly and with a look of concern where the queen was. They assured the king that the queen had gone to his room. The king left them promptly to go to join the queen. He and his comrades wished to follow to protect his royal person, but his majesty prevented them from doing so, telling them to remain and that he would not delay to send them orders. They received, in fact, shortly afterward, instructions to betake themselves to the Oeil-de-Boeuf, where they found many of their comrades. They remained about an hour in this last apartment, on the door of which blows were rained, as if the intention was to break it in. This door had been barricaded inside with benches, stools, and everything he and his comrades could find. It was not entirely broken in, only splintered. The moment came when he and his comrades were about to be taken; but they were delivered by the former French guards, at that time national guards. [June 26, 1790.]

5. *Procédure criminelle, Première partie*, No. LXXXVI, 139.

1. Marie-Elizabeth Nolle, sixty-one years of age, widow of M. Pierre Thibault, first chambermaid of the queen, living in Paris, Rue des Petits-Augustins, No. 16, deposes that, the fifth of last October, she was in service with the queen. She did not leave the apartment of her majesty on that day, and knows only by hearsay what took place in Versailles on

that day. Her majesty having retired, she [Nolle] threw herself on her bed in a small room which precedes the sleeping-room of the queen. Tuesday, the sixth of October, at a quarter after six in the morning, she heard a great noise. She rose to find out where this noise came from and what caused it. She saw that it was some women of the lower class who were upon the terrace. The queen having rung at this moment, she entered the sleeping-room. The queen having asked her what the noise was, she replied to her that it was those women from Paris, who, probably having no place to sleep, were walking about. This reply appeared to quiet the queen, and she withdrew. In about a quarter of an hour she heard a much greater noise, which came from the guard room. She and Madame Augué, another chambermaid of the queen, opened the door of the room where they were and saw that some brigands were trying to force the guard in order to enter, which the guard prevented by forming a barrier with their guns placed across the door. She, frightened, entered precipitately into the room where the queen was lying. She had her get up, slipped on a skirt and stockings, and by a secret passage she, with the said Augué, took her to the king, and from that time did not leave her. [March 9, 1790.]

5. *Procédure criminelle, Suite*, No. CCCLXXXVI, 51.

m. Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Prieur, forty-six years of age, servant of king's chamber, living at Versailles,

Rue d'Anjou, parish Saint-Louis, deposes that he was at Versailles the fifth of last October. At about four o'clock, the king having returned from the chase, they saw from the windows of the chamber of his majesty a multitude of women approach the grating of the château. It was closed. These women named a delegation of four or five from among them who were conducted by a sentinel to the door of the Oeil-de-Boeuf, where they were introduced. They were received by the ministers of the king. They asked for bread. The ministers replied that the king had made all the sacrifices in his power to obtain it for them; that they ought to know that the farmers were occupied in sowing and could not thresh. . . . He was with the ministers, who were MM. Necker and Saint-Priest, and who said nothing else to these women. These last asked to speak to the king. His majesty came and spoke to them with great kindness. He said to them, with tears in his eyes: "You ought to know my heart. I am going to have all the bread in Versailles collected and given to you." These women retired satisfied. A quarter of an hour later these same women, followed by a great number of others, presented themselves in a tumult at the Oeil-de-Boeuf. They pretended that their comrades were not contented with the word of the king; they wanted a paper signed by him. They gave the assurance that they wanted only bread, that they were not followed by any

armed band. These women were introduced into the council chamber. It appeared to all present that they were not women from the markets, but courtezans from the Palais Royal and the Rue Saint-Honoré and the Rue Richelieu and adjacent places, disguised, having only mob-caps on their heads. Some of them were very pretty. Several persons, having taken some of them by the hand, found these women had a very white and soft skin. The guard of the seals drew up hastily an order which the king signed ordering grain to be brought from Lagni and other neighboring places. This order was given to the women, who retired contented. [July 26, 1790.]

5. *Procédure criminelle, Suite*, No. CLXXXV, 26.

n. Jules-Marie-Henri, Comte de Farel, Marquis de Fournès, colonel of the regiment Royal-Champagne, cavalry, deputy to the national assembly, thirty-six years old, living in Paris, Rue de Bellechasse, corner of that of the University, deposes that, the next day, Tuesday, he set out from here at daybreak to go to Versailles. He passed the Vaugirard barrier, where he had been stopped the evening before because of the lack of a passport from the commune or the districts. On the route he encountered, near Virofflay, two heads on the ends of pikes, borne by two men and followed by about a dozen. These heads were even presented at the door of his carriage. [April 23, 1790.]

6. Salmour, Comte de, *Correspondance* in Flammermont, 264.

Paris, October 9, 1789.

The king returned from the chase at about seven o'clock, entering, as he had always done since the beginning of the revolution, by the gates at the back of the park. The president of the national assembly was at once introduced, and with him a deputation of fifteen women, who complained to the king of the bad police and of the lack of food. The king answered them that he loved his good city of Paris too well to ever let it lack anything; that as long as he had charge of the food supply it had never lacked anything, but since these gentlemen (pointing to the deputies of the assembly) had bound his hands, it was not his fault; that he did not believe it was possible at once to reduce bread to eight sous and meat to six, as they wished, but he was going to give orders and co-operate with the national assembly in order that the next day they might be satisfied as far as possible.

As soon as they came to report this satisfying response to their comrades they declared it could not be true, that they had surely been corrupted by money. They were going to hang them, but by the intercession of the deputies they were permitted to go and obtain in writing the confirmation of what they had asserted. Introduced again into the king's presence, his majesty wrote himself and signed what

they had just said. Calmed by this assurance, all these women followed the deputies to the national assembly, assuring the body guards that some people were going to come from Paris who would avenge them for the ill treatment they pretended they had experienced at their hands. Arrived at the assembly, they filled the whole room, established themselves upon the benches, asked to have M. de Mirabeau speak, who protested with much dignity against the indecency of this assembly. These women finished by getting what they wanted. Nothing could be discussed. The Bishop of Langres presided in the absence of Mounier, who, having been to see the king, finally came to announce the acceptance pure and simple of the rights of man, and of the constitution. There was no member of the clergy, very few of the ancient party of the aristocrats, who had all concealed themselves, since the people had named several of them as being the actual cause of their misfortunes, whom they sought to immolate to their resentment. The session was adjourned at half past ten. It rained in torrents all day. At nine o'clock, nothing having happened, the king ordered the body guard to go to its quarters. It made a movement by half squadrons to form a column. The people, believing they were going to charge, put themselves on the defensive. The militia of Versailles and its guard house fired volleys into them, which wounded fifteen or sixteen of them

and put them to flight, so that they were not able to rally before they had reached the park on the other side of the terrace, in front of the apartments of the dauphin. Some one came at eleven o'clock to announce that the troops of Paris were arriving. The king then wished to carry out a plan for flight, and M. de Cubières, his equerry, gave orders for six hunting carriages to be harnessed to go at a walk to the gate of the orangery, from there, under the escort of the body guards, to reach the open country. As soon as the horses were harnessed the gates of the stables were opened, but the carriages, which, according to the description of the locality which I have given your Eminence, were obliged to cross the Place d'Armes, were stopped by the people, who cried, "The king is going away!" The first two, which by the rapidity of their movement had made an opening through the crowd, arrived at the gate of the orangery, found it closed, were stopped in the name of the nation by some men, who cut the traces.

M. Necker during this time had reached the apartments of the king through the interior of the palace, and with the Comte de Montmorin influenced the king, contrary to the advice of the other ministers, not to go away. M. de Lafayette had meanwhile halted at Petit Montreuil, at the end of the Avenue de Paris. There he drew up his troops in order of battle, and after having reminded them of the oath of fidelity to the nation and to the king he divided

them into two columns, which, with the artillery at the head, arrived by the two avenues of Paris and Saint-Cloud. Many deputies had gone to the château. The king asked to have them all called, and those in the city were called by the beating of drums. M. de Lafayette arrived alone with four officers. The iron gates of the château were opened to him. He ascended to the apartments of the king with those who accompanied him. The crowd, which was in the Oeil-de-Boeuf, followed him into the room and heard him pronounce these words: "Sire, you see before you the most unhappy of men to be obliged to appear here in these circumstances and in this manner. If I had believed I could have served more usefully Your Majesty by placing my head on the block, Your Majesty would not see me here." The king replied to him: "You should not doubt, M. de Lafayette, the pleasure I always have in seeing you as well as my good Parisians. Go testify to them of these sentiments on my part." The general went out immediately to present himself to his troops, which he drew up in order of battle in the Place d'Armes and the region round about. As soon as the troops of Paris arrived, the regiment of Flanders, which had retired to the stables to shelter itself from the bad weather, lowered their guns and opened the pans to show that they were not loaded. After which they placed their guns on the ground and the cartridges beside them, and the soldiers made a right

face to enter again. Their arms were immediately returned to them, and fraternity was established between them and the national militia. M. Mounier went to the king's apartments a short time after the exit of M. de Lafayette. The king said to him: "I had you come to surround me with representatives of the nation, but I have already seen M. de Lafayette." As soon as the general had made the necessary dispositions outside he returned to the king, where he remained until half past one. He said, in going out, to the crowd which was in the Oeil-de-Boeuf: "Gentlemen, I have just induced the king to make painful sacrifices. His majesty no longer has any guards except those of the nation. He has permitted me to occupy the château with two thousand men. I am going out to take measures for the general security and to send back the rest of the troops to Paris." In fact, the château was occupied immediately, sentinels placed everywhere; the posts of the body guards in the interior, however, were left, as well as those of the Swiss, who had been constantly under arms without ever receiving orders, without ever leaving the place which had been assigned them behind the grating. The rest of the troops of Paris had been lodged by battalions in the principal houses. The women, who had taken possession of the assembly hall, remained there all night. Everything appeared so quiet their majesties retired at about two o'clock.

The people of Versailles, however, and a part of this populace which had come with the women harbored ill will against the body guards. It was not known what had become of them, as they remained all the time in the park. Toward four o'clock in the morning part of them decided to return to the stables, while another, preferring a retreat in the open country, quit Versailles without knowing any too clearly where they were going. The people, who rummaged everywhere in hunting for them, noted their return, ran to the stables. These unhappy beings took refuge in the riding school, where they defended themselves with their carbines and wounded some, until, not being able to offer resistance to numbers, they sought to escape through the park, in which they were successful, except ten or a dozen who were made prisoners. During this time a part of the people, piqued by the resistance in the riding school, filled the courts of the château and wanted to get possession of those in the apartments. The courts, which all the night had not been completely cleared, were all at once filled, without any one attributing a bad intention to this multitude.

Day began to break. The sentinel on duty at the foot of the marble staircase, insulted by the populace, instead of calling the national guard to his aid, called to his brigadier to come to him. This one, as soon as he saw from the top of the staircase what was going on, fired his carbine and killed a man.

The sentinel did the same. The people at once seized them and mounted the staircase to force the apartments. The guards of the interior hardly had time to barricade the doors. Fortunately, M. de Lafayette, awakened by the firing at the riding school, hastened to the place with what Paris troops he could get together. The grenadiers scattered the people, who were on the point of breaking in the doors of the guard room, the guards having absolutely determined not to open them. Having made themselves known to the body guard, these latter cried from the inside: "Swear to us by your God that you will defend the life of the king." "We swear to you on the honor of a grenadier that we will all perish rather than let anything happen to the king." The doors were at once opened, and the grenadiers, entering in a crowd, followed by the entire national guard of Paris as it arrived, surrounded the body guards and filled the gallery, the apartments, penetrating even to the king's bedchamber, where, at the same minute, the queen arrived out of breath. She had escaped from her apartment, into which, at the time of the invasion, by a passage apparently badly guarded, women had penetrated who evidently had designs upon her. The Paris troops, as they came up, filled the court of marble, the royal court, and the people were obliged to fall back into the court of the ministers, where they dragged the two unhappy victims seized at the foot of the stair-

case and executed them, the one on the steps of the Comte de Luzerne, and the other at the door of M. de Saint-Priest. Their heads were carried in triumph through all the streets of Versailles, taken then to Paris, and promenaded through the streets of the capital.

M. de Lafayette, after having rendered secure the apartments of the king, descended to put his troops in order, found in the marble court, under the balcony of his majesty, the ten body guards whom the national guard had taken from the people, and whom the people were preparing to execute under the windows of the king for having fired upon the citizens, as they said. M. de Lafayette, not being able by any means to obtain their pardon, threw his hat on the ground, and, opening his coat, said to his troops that he did not care to command cannibals, that he would return to them their cockade, their sword, and their uniform; that if they wished to take the lives of these unhappy people, they could take his also. This firmness saved these unfortunate ones, and it was decided that they should be conducted prisoners to Paris. M. de Lafayette, going up-stairs at once, induced the king to appear with the queen and the dauphin upon the balcony. They were applauded, and as soon as his majesty had retired, they cried to him to come to Paris. There were no ministers with the king at the time. After a moment's reflection: "Very well, yes," he said, "I will go with them." And at once, without listening to

anybody, going out upon the balcony, he cried to them: "My children, I am going to live in the midst of you with my wife and my son, but I am going to ask you as a proof of your attachment that you pardon my body guards." At once they appeared at all the windows of the apartments, throwing into the court their cross-belts, which are their mark of service, and M. de Lafayette, appearing with one of them upon the king's balcony, embraced him, crying: "My friends, peace is made." Those who were nearest having alone been able to hear the promise the king had made to come to Paris, the others wished to be assured personally of the intention of his majesty; the entire troop passing successively in disorder under this same balcony, the king had the kindness to repeat his words through MM. de Lafayette and d'Estaing, to each troop which passed, and accompanied them with gestures of assurance. At once there was a general salvo of all the cannon and small arms, which might have been very dangerous, as they were all loaded with ball.

A guard had been sent from Paris to relieve the troops at Versailles before it was known that their majesties would go to Paris. United with the others, a thousand of them were chosen to remain to guard the château, and the rest began to defile in a manner one must have seen in order to have any idea of it; a description of the saturnalia of the ancients alone could furnish a feeble image of this disorder. Im-

agine a column defiling, almost without interruption, from noon until seven in the evening, in which marched, pell-mell, troops, blackguards, all the women drunk—a mixture of all kinds of arms, women astride of the cannon, others bearing the flags, the vilest populace by the side of the most distinguished officers. You could see women wearing the bonnets of grenadiers, others with muskets on their shoulders, and soldiers with cudgels in their hands. Horses from the stables of the king and monsieur attached to wagons of grain; bread, sausages fixed upon the points of bayonets; the vilest populace mounted on horses taken from the body guard, galloping like mad; others armed with their carbines or with the halberds of the Cent-Suisses; women and soldiers, half drunk, lying in indecent postures on the wagons of grain, while the carters who drove them wore themselves and had decorated their horses with the cross-belts of the body guards in the form of collars.

The king arrived at seven at the barrier of the conference. His carriage was immediately preceded by the same troop with as little choice. The guards of the provost preceded it, mixed with armed women surrounding the horse of M. de Tourzel, the grand provost; body guards on foot, confounded with the national guard, followed; then came the Cent-Suisses of the guard with their flags; in a similar order the national guard—mounted on horses of the

body guard, while some guards were mounted on theirs and others rode behind the cavaliers—were nearer the coach of their majesties, immediately preceded by M. d'Estaing, M. de Lafayette, and M. de Montmorin, cousin of the minister, second major in command of the regiment of Flanders. He was surrounded by the grenadiers of Paris, of Flanders, and by sergeants of different corps, by women mounted behind and before in the guise of pages. The heavy artillery followed the convoy. The king, the queen, the dauphin, madame, daughter of the king, Madame Elizabeth and Madame de Tourzel, governesses, were in the same carriage. M. Bailly presented the keys of the city to the king on a porcelain plate, the silver being at the mint, and made to him the inclosed speech. When they arrived at the city hall, M. Bailly gave an account of what the king said to him, that he always found himself with pleasure in the midst of the inhabitants of his good city of Paris. The queen then said: "You have forgotten that he added to that, with confidence." They cried: "Long live the Queen!" "Gentlemen," replied the mayor, "you hear it from her mouth; you are more fortunate than if I had told it to you." And then: "Long live M. Bailly!" Their majesties then went to pass the night at the Tuileries, where, by the way, the king found himself for the first time in his life. . . .

At the moment of leaving in the morning [for

Versailles, October 6th] my people came to beg me on their knees not to depart. The valet of M. de Saint-Priest had just come to Paris and gave me a very exaggerated account of heads cut off, the massacring of the body guards, and of the whole tumult, to which we were commencing to become accustomed, but truly frightful to a cool-blooded man. . . . Obliged to move slowly, following a battalion of three hundred men of the national guard, who were going to relieve their comrades at Versailles, I saw coming toward me a score of ragamuffins, preceded by a man with a long beard, behind whom marched two others carrying bleeding heads at the end of pikes. The sight of a decorated man always exciting the rage of the populace, I saw them approach my carriage and offer me in the guise of a bouquet these fruits of their barbarism. Fearing their insults if I appeared to refuse this presentation, I lowered the window on their side and by means of two signs of approbation of the head these executioners appeared to be well satisfied with me, and left the road free to me while continuing their route.

7. Bailli de Virieu, *Correspondance*, 144.

The news of the arrival of the king and the royal family was known in Paris long before noon. All the population betook itself to the road to Versailles, in spite of the mud and the rain, to greet its sovereign the sooner. First of all there came into sight

an enormous number of carts, upon which lolled fish-wives pell-mell with soldiers, bearing in their hands branches of trees from which hung tri-colored ribbons. Discharges of musketry were heard all along the road. Then came many wagons loaded with sacks of flour, then soldiers on horseback, etc. The king arrived in person at eight o'clock in the evening. The streets were illuminated, and his march was similar to that of Friday, July 17 [1789]. The body guard marched with the other soldiers and no longer wore their cross-belts; many had on their heads the bonnets of the grenadiers; some were on horseback, the others on foot; all shouted, "Long live the nation!" and brandished their swords and their hats in salutation. They would have been torn in pieces if the king had not required them to take the oath of fidelity to the nation. There were in the royal coach the king, the queen, the dauphin, madame (his sister), the Count and the Countess of Provence. Around them the cry was raised: "Here is the baker and the baker's wife and the little baker's boy! We shall no longer lack bread!" The mayor, who had gone to the barrier of the conference to present to the king the keys of the city of Paris, marched before the carriage of their majesties. The latter having gone into the city hall, M. Bailly spoke to the members of the commune in the names of the royal persons, and assured them that the king and the queen, as well as their family, came to

put themselves in the hands of the people with pleasure. "And confidence," immediately cried out the sovereigns. "It is fortunate I forgot this word," added the mayor, immediately, "because, coming from the mouth of the king, it ought to be still more dear to his subjects."

PROBLEM IV

IV.—The Flight of the King, June 20, 1791

The Flight of the King

A. THE HISTORIC SETTING OF THE PROBLEM

IN the two years between the insurrection of October, 1789, and the flight of Louis XVI. in June, 1791, lies the period of the complete transformation of French society, of its economic, political, judicial, and ecclesiastical reorganization. Poor in dramatic episodes—the federation of July 14, 1790, alone comparing in significance with the events of June 20th and 23d, July 14th, August 4th, and October 5, 1789—it seems to lack unity, and does not appeal at once to the imagination. Although Paris holds the center of the stage through the whole period, the revolution has become a French affair, the theater embracing the entire territory of France, from the Atlantic to the Rhine, and from the North Sea to the Pyrenees. The revolution even promises to become a European affair, and we notice from time to time the European actors waiting at the wings ready to make their entrance. To give a vital unity to the period, to trace the chronological development of this unity is an extremely difficult task, but one of fundamental importance. For, after all, here is the real revolution; the realization of the desires of the French people expressed in their *cahiers;* the execution of the instructions given to the representatives sent to Versailles; the culmination of nearly a century of agitation and discussion.

What legislative body, working under like conditions, ever made a larger, more permanent, or more valuable contribution to the reconstruction of a society than the first national assembly of France? And it was not simply a paper constitution these men gave to their country. In fact the constitution as an organized whole did not exist until the summer of 1791, when the decrees of which it consisted were already in force, had already created working institutions. It was a new France across which Louis XVI. fled in the summer of 1791. The national assembly did not simply destroy the old institutions, the institutions of an outgrown social organization; it actually created new institutions in the last two years of its existence. To understand the period, then, is to know when and how the assembly modified or destroyed the old institutions, when and how it called new institutions into existence, what these new institutions were, and, finally, how these legislative creations became vital, active institutions on the soil of France. But to know all this even would not be to know the period fully. The destruction of the old institutions did not take place without the opposition of the classes that had profited by them. As the reconstruction went on, as it advanced from legislative acts to the application of legislative acts, as group after group suffered from the labors of readjustment, the opposition grew more marked, more serious, and the different groups were more inclined to make common cause, to form two great hostile groups, the friends and the foes of the revolution. France armed itself that the national assembly might live and do its work; it remained armed to defend the new France against the old. This struggle between the old and the new, gradually producing a situation which led first to civil

and later to foreign war, must be given adequate treatment if the period as a whole is to be rendered intelligible.

The two most important economic events of the revolution were the destruction of feudal rights and the confiscation and sale of the property of the church. The abolition of feudal rights, the work of the armed peasants of France, legalized by the national assembly on the night of August 4, 1789, fell in the period before October, 1789, but the execution of the decree of the assembly, the determination of what feudal rights were property rights and must be purchased, what were personal and must be abolished without compensation, the problem of forcing the payment of feudal dues until a settlement had been made—all these matters fell within the two years we are dealing with. A committee on feudal rights attempted to bring order out of chaos, to separate things that were inseparable, and the assembly passed laws recommended by the committee, but nothing was settled. The feudal dues were not paid, even when they were property rights, and not a small part of the disturbances in different parts of France during these two years was due to the strife over feudal dues, the attempts of the owners of feudal rights either to collect them or to obtain compensation.

The seizure of the property of the church was the work of the assembly, and due to the financial distress of the government, the immediate cause for the convocation of the states general. The assembly had been called by the government in the hope that it would increase the governmental revenues by submitting all classes to taxation. The representatives, on the other hand, had instructions to grant no financial aid to the government until the constitution had been made.

"The blessed deficit" was regarded as the most powerful ally of the revolution. To abide literally by these instructions in the summer of 1789 was not practicable, nor did it seem necessary after the revolution of July. The treasury was in distress, and the assembly permitted Necker to make two loans in August, neither of which was fully taken. As the distress increased and heroic measures became necessary, Necker was allowed to levy a tax of twenty-five per cent. upon net revenues. When this also was unsuccessful the assembly resorted to a measure that had been suggested several times already but had not been seriously considered; it was nothing less than the confiscation of the buildings and lands of the church and the sale of these to pay the debts of the state. The measure was proposed in October, 1789, and became a law November 2, 1789. It "placed the property of the church at the disposition of the state"; in other words, the state did not at once take possession of the property. Other decrees, the natural consequence of this one, were passed in the last month of 1789 and the first months of 1790. A paper money, drawing interest and secured by the property of the church, was created to the amount of four hundred million francs; property of the church to the same amount was placed in the hands of the municipal governments for sale, the national government agreeing to receive its own paper in payment for the property; decrees providing for the care of the debts of the clergy and freeing the lands from all feudal dues were passed, thus rendering the titles to the property unencumbered, and purchasers appeared in large numbers. The financial question was temporarily settled, and the revolution struck root in the soil of France, being assured of the support of the purchasers of the church lands. The

clergy, deprived of the revenues from their great properties, as they had previously been stripped of their tithes, were made financially dependent upon the state, a body of public servants without political independence. Here is found, probably, the chief cause of the hostility of the upper orders in the church—the church aristocracy—to the revolution.

The judicial reforms, proposed in the fall of 1789, passed by the assembly and put into effect in the fall of 1790, swept away the old courts with their privileges and abuses and substituted for them a system of courts extending from the court of the justice of the peace to the supreme courts of the districts, presided over by judges elected by the people and administering justice gratuitously. The old parliaments were suspended in the fall of 1789 and abolished in the summer of 1790. Some of them protested against their suspension, but the summary treatment they received at the hands of the assembly, convincing them that a new day had dawned, put an end to their open opposition.

The political decrees passed by the assembly in November and December, 1789, and put in effect in 1790, were no less revolutionary than the economic measures just described. The foundations of the constitution—the limitation of the king's power, the creation of a single representative assembly, meeting annually, and the establishment of ministerial responsibility—had been laid in September. In November the assembly passed a law excluding its members from the ministry, thus rendering impossible a ministry supported by the majority of the assembly and capable of forming and executing a governmental program. In December it passed laws creating municipalities, departments, and districts, administered by representatives elected by

the people. All the administrative bodies of the *ancien régime*, composed of officials who had purchased their offices from the government or owed them to royal appointment, disappeared in the summer of 1790 when these new administrative bodies came into existence. In the fall of 1790 there were no more provinces, no more provincial assemblies, only eighty-three departments administering their own affairs.

The closing of the monasteries and the reorganization of the church were the natural consequences of the economic legislation already mentioned. A large part of the church property was in the hands of the monastic orders. The assembly passed decrees forbidding the taking of permanent monastic vows, closing up many of the houses, and providing the monks and nuns with a living pension if they wished to leave the monastery or convent. At a later period in the revolution all the orders were abolished. In the period of the constituent assembly a distinction was made between the orders engaged in teaching, nursing, and industrial pursuits, and those made up of members who passed their lives in retirement; the former, as engaged in social activities, were treated with consideration and allowed to continue their work. The abolition of church revenues and the formation of departments made it necessary for the assembly to adapt the organization of the church to the new social framework, to realize the reforms called for by the *cahiers*, and to provide for the support of the clergy. A committee had been chosen in the fall of 1789, and after a report made by this committee and discussed by the assembly, the "civil constitution of the clergy" became a law on July 12, 1790. The new dioceses were formed corresponding to the limits of the departments. At the head of each diocese was a bishop, and under him

were curates. Both were elected; the bishops by the electors who chose the members of the departmental organizations, the curates by the electors for the district. There were ten metropolitan districts in France, presided over by metropolitan bishops. The salaries of the bishops in many cases were largely decreased, those of the curates increased. Provision was made for the reorganization of the parishes. All this was done without consultation with the pope, and no place was left for the interference of papal authority in what was clearly the constitution of a national church. It was provided that each bishop and curate should take an oath "in the presence of the municipal officers, the people, and the clergy to guard with care the faithful of his diocese who were confided to him, to be loyal to the nation, the law, and the king, and to support with all his power the constitution decreed by the national assembly and accepted by the king." If they failed to do this, the bishopric or curacy "would be looked upon as vacant." The king did not make public the civil constitution until August 26, 1790. When it became clear that a large majority of the higher clergy would not conform to the requirements of the new system unless it were approved by the pope, the assembly passed a decree ordering the clergy to take the prescribed oath. This decree was also sanctioned by the king, although very unwillingly, and in the spring of 1791 the clergy were forced to choose between taking the oath and resignation. When they refused to take the oath—almost all the archbishops and bishops refused, but the majority of the curates took it—the electors were called together and elected their successors. The recalcitrant bishops and curates refused to recognize their successors, and the church of France was torn by a schism which was to develop into civil war.

To trace the course of the opposition to the revolution and that of the supporters of it during the two years from October, 1789, to June, 1791, is a much more difficult task than the description of the work of reorganization during this period. The most striking manifestation of the existence of a new France and of a determination to defend it against all comers is found in the series of federations beginning in the fall of 1789 and culminating on July 14, 1790, in the spectacular demonstration on the Champ de Mars. The significance of this event cannot be understood until it is viewed as the last of a series of federations, originating independently of Paris and the assembly, celebrated now in the east, now in the south, and now in the west of France, increasing in size and importance with each repetition, and finally sweeping in upon the capital in a great wave of national enthusiasm. The federations had two features in common: the members were delegates of the national guards from the region represented; they gathered around an altar and took an oath to defend the constitution and the work of the national assembly. The oath was taken on July 14th by a vast assemblage of several hundred thousand composed of the inhabitants of Paris and of armed delegates from all parts of France. "We swear," it ran, "to be forever faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the king; to maintain with all our might the constitution decreed by the national assembly and accepted by the king; to protect, in conformity with the laws, the security of persons and property, the free circulation of grain and food in the interior of the kingdom, and the collection of public contributions, under whatever form they may exist; to remain united to all Frenchmen by the indissoluble bonds of fraternity." At a signal given by a tricolored flame all, raising their hands, cried, "We swear it." As with

faces turned toward the altar of the country, erected in the center of the great plain, and with hands raised to heaven the multitude took this solemn oath, it was not simply the new France crying defiance at the old, it was the outward expression of French unity, of the culmination of more than a thousand years of history. The significance of the act is heightened when it is remembered that at the same hour, through the length and breadth of the land, the same oath was being taken. "O age! O memory!" exclaimed an enthusiastic witness of the federation, "we have heard this sublime oath which will be soon, we hope, the oath of all the peoples of the earth. Twenty-five millions of peoples have repeated it at the same hour in all the parts of this empire. The echoes of the Alps, of the Pyrenees, of the vast caverns of the Rhine and the Meuse have repeated it afar; they will transmit it without doubt to the most remote limits of Europe and Asia."

Unfortunately for France, the oath found no friendly echoes in the hearts of those who had been stripped of honor, privilege, power, or wealth by the revolution. To them the revolution meant disaster and must be resisted by every means. In this resistance there was no common purpose and no unity of plan. The parliaments protested, and were severely reprimanded by the assembly; the minority of the clergy and the nobility in the assembly harassed and hampered its action, but only irritated the majority, and were responsible for more radical action than would otherwise have been taken; protests against the decrees of the assembly, printed and circulated about the country, simply helped to widen the breach between the parties, but did not check the revolution nor render it more conservative; the attempt of Mounier, after abandoning Paris in October, to raise the Dauphiné

against the assembly was wrecked on a decree of the assembly; the *émigrés* on the frontiers were noisy but harmless; a threatened revolt of the east of France and an invasion from Piedmont came to naught; the armed camp of Jalès, that for a short time took on serious proportions and threatened to light up a religious war, vanished after a brief and ineffective existence. The most dangerous and the most effective opposition was to come from the members of the clergy, who remained in their dioceses and parishes, refused to take the oath, and stirred up their parishioners against the revolution, declaring it was a revolt against religion.

It was the clash between the revolution and the church which influenced Louis XVI. the most profoundly. Had it been possible to reconcile the church to the changes, the whole history of the revolution would have been different. That such a reconciliation did not take place was due to Pius VI. In the spring of 1790 he secretly denounced the acts of the assembly, but did not make his declaration public. He did not even pronounce publicly against the civil constitution, but threw the responsibility for action upon Louis XVI. and his advisers. It was not until Avignon had been lost to him, until nothing more could be gained from the assembly by withholding his condemnation of its work, that the pope finally declared himself publicly in a brief of March 10, 1791. He passed in review the civil, political, and religious work of the constituent assembly, condemning it in its entirety. "The end of the assembly," he affirmed, "was to destroy the Catholic religion, and with it the obedience due to kings. The proof of it was that all its decrees were inspired by that sacrilegious declaration of the rights of man which proclaimed these monstrosities: freedom of thought and of the press, the equality of all men. These

pretended imprescriptible rights are so many revolts against the authority of the Creator, and the assembly in proclaiming them renewed the heresies of the Vaudois, the Bégards, of Wyclif and Luther. The so much vaunted liberty and equality are only a means of overthrowing Catholicism." It was a declaration of war upon the revolution.

Long before the appearance of this brief Louis XVI. had decided not to accept the revolution, not to remain a constitutional king of France. It is true that in February, 1790, he had appeared before the assembly, had publicly sworn to "defend and maintain constitutional liberty," and "in concert with the queen . . . to prepare, at an early hour, the mind and heart of his son for the new order of things, which circumstances have brought about." On the Champ de Mars, before the assembled people, he had taken the oath of the federation. But the civil constitution, the decree of November 27, 1790, requiring the clergy to take the oath, the schism in the church, the secret condemnation of the pope—all this had affected him more than the encroachment upon his political rights. He was profoundly pious. He determined to escape from Paris, to take refuge in the midst of loyal troops on the eastern frontier and within reach of Austrian assistance, for Marie Antoinette had been promised aid by her brother when she had escaped to the frontier. The preparation of the plans began in the fall of 1790, and were completed in June, 1791. Bouillé was in charge of the troops, and Montmédy the objective point. Detachments of troops were to be placed along the route to be followed from Châlons to Montmédy. At Varennes, through which the fugitives were to pass, there was no post-house and horses must be sent in advance and left at the entrance to town, that the changes might be made

before entering Varennes. A commodious and luxurious traveling carriage was built, passports were obtained, and after a final postponement the royal family actually set out on the night of June 20th, aided in their final arrangements by the young Swedish officer the Comte de Fersen, whom contemporary scandal described as a lover of the queen.

It is not without reason that the historian has always regarded the flight of the king as one of the critical events of the revolution. His escape would have meant civil and foreign war. He was brought back to Paris a discredited, a perjured monarch. Deprived of his power, placed under guard in the Tuileries, he was for nearly three months a silent spectator of the activities of the first French republic. It was but natural that the idea of substituting a republic for the monarchy should have been publicly advocated at this time. Could a constitutional monarchy with Louis XVI. on the throne ever be successful? Would he ever act in good faith? Could he again be trusted? These were the questions raised by his flight, and upon the answer to them rested the fate of the great work of the national assembly.

B. CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Procès-verbal de l'assemblée nationale.* See critical bibliography for Problem I. The *Procès-verbal* for June 21, 1791, bears no number. It is inserted between Nos. 686 and 687, the latter number being the *Procès-verbal* for June 27th. The *Procès-verbal* for June 21st appeared in three parts of 21, 24, and 24 pages each. The first part had a title page with the title, "*Procès-verbal de l'assemblée nationale, du mardi, 21 Juin 1791. A Paris, de l'imprimérie nationale, 1791,*" and in the center of

the page the seal with the words, "*Assemblée nationale. La loi et le roi, 1789.*" The second and third parts had no title page, simply a heading with the words, "*Ire suite du procès-verbal de la séance permanente,*" "*IIme suite,*" etc. The *Procès-verbal* for June 26th was the "*IOme et dernière suite,*" etc.

2. *Rapport du sieur Drouet* in *Relation du départ de Louis XVI., par le Duc de Choiseul,* 139. Paris, 1822. This is a reprint of the statement made by Drouet on June 24th before the general council of the commune of Paris and dictated by him in the office of the *Journal des Clubs.* A somewhat different account is given in the *Procès-verbal* of the national assembly, before which Drouet made a statement on the same day.

3. *Extraits du registre des déliberations de la commune de la ville de Varennes,* June 23, 1791, in Bimbenet, *Fuite de Louis XVI.,* 203. *Deuxième édition.* Paris (n.d.).

4. Examination of Maldent in the Abbey prison, July 7, 1791, in Bimbenet, *La Fuite de Louis XVI.,* 92. On his return to Paris, after his arrest at Varennes, Maldent, one of the body guards, was thrown into prison and examined there on July 7th, in accordance with a decree of the national assembly dated June 26, 1791. Bimbenet reproduced the examination from the original record.

5. *Lettre de la municipalité de Sainte-Menehould à M. le président de l'assemblée nationale, le 21 Juin, 1791,* in Ancelon, *La vérité sur la fuite et l'arrestation de Louis XVI. à Varennes,* 188. Paris, 1866.

6. *Procès-verbal* of the general assembly of the commune of Varennes, June 27, 1791, in Bimbenet, *La fuite de Louis XVI. à Varennes,* 193.

7. Tourzel, Madame la duchesse de, *Mémoires,* 2 vols., Paris, 1883. Madame de Tourzel was the governess of

the royal children, and accompanied the royal family on their flight. She was born in 1749, and died in 1832. Her *Mémoires* were written after 1797, as she refers (I, 302, note) to the *Mémoires* of the Marquis de Bouillé published in that year. They were probably written some time later.

8. *Relation du voyage de Varennes, adressée par un prélat, membre de l'assemblée constituante, à un ministre en pays étranger*, in Weber, *Mémoires*, 2 vols., Paris, 1822. The writer was probably the Archbishop of Toulouse, M. de Fontanges. The account was written after 1797, as the *Mémoires* of Bouillé, published on that date, are mentioned (I, 76). Concerning the sources of his information the writer says: "I have simply the intention of retracing for you faithfully and without partiality what has remained graven upon my memory of conversations I have had with the queen herself, later with M. de Bouillé, and with other persons who appeared to me very well informed concerning all the details of this event."

C. QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Which of these sources contain the testimony of eye-witnesses?
2. Is any account made up entirely of what the witness saw or heard?
3. What is the value of the account of M. de Fontanges?
4. How does it compare in value with the *Mémoires* of Madame de Tourzel?
5. In what respect are the examination of Maldent, the statement of Drouet, the extract from the *Procès-verbal* of the council of Sainte-Menehould, and the letter of the commune of Varennes more valuable than the *Mémoires* of Madame de Tourzel?
6. In what respect would the value of these sources be affected

by their character—that is, by the fact that Maldent's statement was forced from him in court, that Drouet was recounting his deeds before a public assembly, etc.?

7. Are any of these sources dependent?
8. Establish the facts relating to the escape from Paris: (1) When did it take place, day and hour? (2) Who were the members of the royal party? (3) Who assisted them in their escape from Paris? (4) How did the royal family escape unnoticed from the château? (5) Describe the incidents connected with the passage from the château to the fiacre. (6) What do you know of the passage from the Carrousel to the barrier? (7) What happened outside the barrier? (8) Give an account of the flight to the first relay station. (9) How much of what you have stated is certainty? (10) What would you like to know that cannot be answered by the evidence?
9. Give an account of the action of the assembly on June 21st and explain the significance of each decree.
10. What kind of a government existed in France on the evening of June 21st?
11. To obtain this form of government, how many changes did the assembly make?
12. Why did the French people wish to prevent the escape of the king?
13. Describe the flight up to Varennes: (1) Did the presence of troops help or hinder the flight? (2) Up to Sainte-Menehould had anything happened to make the outcome uncertain? (3) What happened of a critical nature at Sainte-Menehould? (4) Was success impossible after Sainte-Menehould?
14. Describe the events in Varennes: (1) Why was the passage through Varennes of so much importance? (2) Who was responsible for the failure of the flight? (3) Who stopped the king's carriage at Varennes? (4) Did the town government of Sainte-Menehould send Drouet to Varennes? (5) At what time was the king arrested at

Varennes? (6) Why was such a large body of militia summoned to Varennes? (7) At what time did the king leave Varennes for Paris? (8) Why did he not start earlier? (9) Why did the king leave Paris? (10) What did he intend to do?

15. Establish the facts, make an outline, and write a narrative dealing with "The Flight of the King, June 20, 1791."

D. The Sources

1. *Procès-verbal de l'assemblée nationale*, Tuesday, June 21, 1791.

The president, having arrived, said that the mayor of Paris had just informed him of the departure of the king, and that the assembly would, without doubt, wish to take some action and give some orders in a conjuncture so unforeseen and so important. [After several motions had been made and discussed] the national assembly decreed:

"That the minister of the interior should expedite couriers at once into all the departments with an order to all public functionaries, national guards, and troops of the line, to arrest or have arrested all persons whomsoever leaving the kingdom, as well as to prevent all exportation of effects, arms, munitions, specie in gold or silver, carriages and horses; and in the case in which the said couriers should overtake any individuals of the royal family, and those who may have aided in their abduction, the said public functionaries or national guards and troops of the line are required to take all measures necessary to check the effects of said abduction by opposing the

prosecution of the journey, and to give an account of everything to the national assembly."

A member asked that the place of the sessions of the assembly be carefully guarded, and that no stranger be allowed to enter there. The national assembly adopted this proposition. It was thereupon proposed and decreed to order the minister of war to have M. de Rochambeau depart at once with the necessary orders to have put in a state of defense the frontiers of the departments in which the command of the troops of the line is intrusted to him.

The president announced that the ministers were going to come to the assembly. The minister of justice was introduced first. . . . [The aide de camp of Lafayette, sent with a companion to follow the king, came to the assembly to announce that they had been arrested by the people. Two members of the assembly were named as commissioners] to secure for these aides de camp full liberty to execute their orders. A member having announced that M. de Lafayette had been arrested by the people in front of the city hall, the president was authorized to name six commissioners to call to the assembly the mayor of Paris and the commandant of the national guard. . . . The minister of finance was introduced into the assembly. . . .

"The national assembly declares to the citizens of Paris and to all the inhabitants of the empire that the same firmness which it has shown in the

midst of all the difficulties which have accompanied its labors is going to direct its deliberations on the occasion of the abduction of the king and a part of the royal family;

"That it has taken the most effective steps to follow the traces of those who were culpable of this crime;

"That without any interruption in its sessions it is going to employ all possible means that public affairs may not suffer from this event;

"That all citizens ought to have full confidence that it would take such measures as the public welfare demanded; that it warned them that the public welfare never demanded more imperiously the conservation of order; and that whatever might excite trouble, injure persons, or menace property would be so much the more culpable, as thereby both liberty and the constitution would be compromised.

"It orders that citizens hold themselves ready to maintain public order and defend the country according to the orders that shall be given to them by the national assembly.

"It orders administrators of departments and municipal officers throughout the entire kingdom to have the present decree published at once and to look carefully after public peace."

The minister of marine was introduced into the assembly. . . .

"The national assembly, wishing to prevent the

evils which might result from expediting into the departments and districts of decrees, opinions, and other matters which might be circulated there in the name of the assembly, declares that the only authentic seal of its decrees and expeditions is that one applied to the decree which bears the words, *The Law and the King. National Assembly, 1789,* and the seal of its archives for packages delivered there, bearing the words, *The Nation, the Law, and the King. National Archives;* it instructs administrative assemblies and public functionaries to exercise the most careful supervision over copies of the decrees which may be circulated among the people in order to be sure of the authenticity of them as well as of the correctness of the signatures and the seals; and to prevent the abuse of the seal bearing the words, *National Assembly 1789, The Law and the King,* it decrees that all the seals bearing only these words shall be deposited in one place through the care of the archivist and intrusted to commissioners who shall watch over the application of the seal to the decrees. . . ."

The minister of the interior was introduced into the assembly. . . . Upon a motion made and seconded by several members the assembly decreed that the ministers should be admitted provisionally to its sessions, in order to be always ready to receive orders and to give necessary information.

At the same time it ordered its diplomatic com-

mittee to arrange with the minister of foreign affairs measures it might be fitting to propose to the assembly relative to the foreign powers.

The minister of justice asked to be heard, which was granted. He observed that the state seal having been confided to him by the king, and M. de la Porte having shown him this morning a *Mémoire* written, and signed by the hand of the king, at the bottom of which was a note containing the prohibition to sign anything as minister until he had received further orders, and even the order to send him the seal as soon as he should require it, he could not, without an express injunction of the assembly, apply the state seal to their decrees. He added that he had advised M. de la Porte to carry the *Mémoire* to the president. . . .

The national assembly decrees as follows:

"1. The decrees of the national assembly already rendered, which have not been sanctioned nor accepted by the king, as well as the decrees which may be rendered and cannot be sanctioned nor accepted on account of the absence of the king, shall bear, nevertheless, the name and shall have in the length and breadth of the land the force of law, and the usual formula shall continue to be employed there.

"2. It is enjoined upon the minister of justice to apply the seal of state, without the need of the sanction or acceptance of the king, and to sign both the minutes of the decrees which are to be deposited in

the national archives and in those of the chancellery and the copies of the laws to be sent to the tribunals and the administrative bodies.

"3. The ministers are authorized to assemble, to make and sign together proclamations and other acts of a similar nature."

The ministers retired to see to the execution of the decrees.

A member of the military committee observed that, the national assembly having passed the laws called for by the internal situation, it was important to take thought of what was needed for the security of the frontiers. He proposed, in consequence, that this committee meet to consider measures to be taken touching the public force and thereupon give an account to the assembly. This proposition was adopted. Another member made a motion relative to M. d'Affry, commandant of the troops of the line in the department of Paris and in the neighboring departments, which was passed as follows:

"The national assembly decrees that M. d'Affry, commandant of the troops of the line in the department of Paris and the neighboring departments, shall be summoned to give to the assembly an account of the measures he has taken to secure public tranquillity in the departments in which he commands as well as the dispositions relative to the regiment of Swiss guards which are in the service of the nation. . . ."

The Flight of the King

A deputation of the department of Paris presented itself at the bar and gave an account of the decree the department had rendered, conceived in these terms:

Extract from the Register of the Department of Paris, June 21, 1791

"*Department of Paris.*

"On the proposition of one of its members, the department, in consideration of the departure of the king and the entire royal family, has decreed that the municipality of Paris shall at once place seals upon the apartments of the château of the Tuileries and the Luxembourg; that it shall make the investigations which may be necessary to learn by what exits the royal family was abducted; that it shall hold under arrest until further orders all those who dwell in the interior of the château of the Tuileries and shall have them questioned; that the municipality shall give the necessary orders to have all the exits of Paris closed and see to it that no one goes out to-day.

"Decrees, further, that one of its members shall go at once to the national assembly to inform it of this action."

The national assembly gave its approval to this decree, and, a member having proposed that the department of Paris should come and hold its sessions

in one of the offices contiguous to the hall of the national assembly, to be nearer for the purpose of receiving its orders, this disposition was ordered. . . .

[The minister of foreign affairs] was introduced into the assembly, and after he had been heard the preceding motion was amended and passed in the following form:

"The national assembly decrees as follows:

"The minister of the interior is ordered to establish at once a strong guard at the depots of foreign affairs at Paris and at the depots of foreign affairs, war, marine, and others at Versailles, with orders not to allow papers, ciphers, or packages to leave the place where they are otherwise than by an order of the minister and upon his responsibility. Similar orders will be executed as to the lodging occupied at Paris by the minister of foreign affairs."

Upon an order to add some members to the committee on investigations, it was proposed to unite the committee on reports to that on investigation, that they might occupy themselves with the existing situation. This last motion was passed. . . .

M. d'Affry was brought to the bar with several officers of the staff of the Swiss guards. He expressed his sentiments of fidelity and attachment to the nation. He begged that they would not regard the Swiss as foreign auxiliaries, but as Frenchmen who loved their country. He said he would consecrate to it his last efforts. . . .

On a motion made to that purpose the president, authorized by the assembly, named commissioners to be added to the secretaries, for the redaction of the *Procès-verbal* and the classification of the decrees passed in this session. . . . They retired at once with one of the secretaries to do this work.

It was proposed to issue a proclamation or address to the French people relative to the present circumstances. This was voted, and the committee on the constitution was charged to draw it up.

[It was proposed that a report should be made to the assembly of the state of the treasury and the reserve fund] as a result of which the assembly decreed as follows:

"The national assembly, the king being absent, orders that its commissioners at the national treasury and the reserve fund, acting in concert with the commissioners of the king for the said treasury and fund, shall draw up a *Procès-verbal* of the present state of the said fund and treasury, which *Procès-verbal* shall be brought at once to the national assembly."

Thereupon the national assembly passed to the order of the day, which was the continuation of the reading of the minutes of the previous day and the discussion upon the penal code. . . .

At half past one, before passing to the order of the day, a member asked that it be decreed that the assembly would not separate until a new decree had

suspended the session. The assembly adopted the proposition. . . .

[M. de la Porte, intendant of the civil list, was called to the bar, and stated how the *Mémoire* written by the king had been handed him that morning by a servant attached to one of the royal valets. He presented the *Mémoire* to the assembly, and it was read. The opening passage was as follows:]

"So long as the king could hope to see a new birth of order and business in the kingdom through the means employed by the national assembly, and by his residence near this assembly in the capital of the kingdom, no personal sacrifice was too great for him; he would not even have discussed the nullity with which all his acts, since the month of October, 1789, were struck because of his absolute lack of liberty, if this hope had been realized. But now that the sole recompense of so many sacrifices is to see the destruction of the kingdom, to see all authorities disregarded, all property violated, the security of persons everywhere endangered, crime unpunished, complete anarchy established above the laws, without the appearance of authority given him by the new constitution being sufficient to repair a single one of the ills which afflict the kingdom, the king, after having solemnly protested against all the acts emanating from him during his captivity, believes he ought to place before the eyes of the

French and of the whole world a picture of his conduct and that of the government which has established itself in the kingdom."

[The king then reviewed the events of 1789 and 1790, notably those of July and October, 1789, the federation of 1790, the arrest of his aunts, and the opposition to his departure for Saint-Cloud in 1791. The review of events was accompanied by a criticism of the constitution under the heads of *Justice*, *Internal Administration*, *Foreign Affairs*, and *Finance*. The document fills twenty-two pages of the *Procès-verbal*. It concludes in the following words:]

"Frenchmen, and above all you people of Paris, you inhabitants of a city whom the ancestors of His Majesty were pleased to call the good city of Paris, beware of the lies and suggestions of your false friends. Return to your king; he will always be your father, your best friend. What pleasure will he not take in forgetting all his personal injuries and seeing himself again in the midst of you when a constitution, which he will have accepted freely, will be so effective that our holy religion will be respected, the government established on a firm footing and useful through its action, property and the status of each no longer troubled, the laws no longer violated with impunity, and finally liberty placed on firm and unshakable bases. (Signed) Louis.

"At Paris, June 20, 1791."

"The King forbids his ministers to sign any order in his name until they have received further orders from him. He enjoins the guard of the seal of the state to send it to him as soon as he shall require him to do so. (Signed) Louis.

"At Paris, June 20, 1791."

At the close of the reading the motion was made to pass to the order of the day, and a second to send the *Mémoire* to the committee on the constitution to prepare, in consequence, a proclamation. The two motions were put to vote and passed at the same time. . . .

IIme suite du procès-verbal de la séance permanente

Tuesday, June 21, 1791, six o'clock in the evening.

M. Dauchy, ex-president, took the chair and announced that the committee, charged with editing the different decrees passed this morning, would not delay the presentation of its work. . . .

[After several motions relating to foreign affairs the following decree was passed:]

"The national assembly, the king being absent, orders that the minister of foreign affairs shall make known to the ambassadors and ministers of the powers at present residing in Paris, as well as to the ambassadors of France in foreign states and kingdoms, the wish of the French nation to continue with the said states and kingdoms the correspon-

dence of amity and good intelligence which has existed up to the present time, and to instruct the said ambassadors and residents for the powers that they should remit to M. de Montmorin the official notes with which they may be charged on the part of the respective princes and estates. . . ."

One of the commissioners of the assembly, charged to supervise the reserve fund, made a report on the condition of that fund. . . . In consequence he proposed the following decree:

"The national assembly decrees that the commissioner-administrator of the reserve fund be alone authorized to sign ordinances mentioned in Article IV of the law of December 6th last, sanctioned the 15th of this month, until further orders; and the said commissioner of the king shall be responsible for the said ordinances, in conformity with the said article." . . . The assembly voted the proposition of the committee.

A member of the committee of finance gave an account to the assembly of the state of the public treasury. The result was that there was found in the treasury, namely:

In gold	2,908,200 livres
In silver	6,559,700 livres
In paper money	18,631,000 livres
In notes due during the month .	3,437,428 livres
Total	31,536,328 livres

A member of the military committee, in the execution of a decree rendered this morning, presented a project upon the means of providing in these circumstances for the external and internal security of the state and the maintenance of the constitution. . . . This amendment was adopted and the project of the committee passed in the following terms:

"The national assembly, wishing to provide in the circumstances for the external and internal security of the state and the maintenance of the constitution, decrees as follows:

"ARTICLE I

"The national guard of the kingdom shall be called to arms according to the dispositions announced in the following articles: . . .

"ARTICLE IX

"From the day of the assembling of these companies, all the citizens who compose them shall receive—namely, the national guard 15 sous a day. . . .

"ARTICLE X

"When the situation of the state shall no longer demand the extraordinary services of these companies the citizens who compose them shall cease to be paid, and shall re-enter their companies of the national guard without any distinction being made."

The Flight of the King

The assembly suspended its deliberations at eleven o'clock in the evening. At midnight the debates began again. M. Dauchy, ex-president, having taken the chair, announced that the commissioners had edited the first part of the *Procès-verbal* of that day's session. The assembly, after having heard the reading of it, referred it back to the commissioners to have the corrections made which seemed fitting. . . . A member observed that it was of the greatest importance to send the *Procès-verbal* to all of the departments, to maintain public peace there, and to inform the citizens of the measures taken by the assembly to assure the defense of the state. . . .

The assembly suspended its deliberations a second time at an hour and a half after midnight, and renewed them at three o'clock on the morning of the 22d of the current month. One of the commissioners who acted as editor brought in a corrected redaction of the *Procès-verbal* of yesterday morning. After the reading the national assembly ordered "that the *Procès-verbal* should be printed at once and sent without delay to all the administrations of the departments and districts of the kingdom." The deliberations were suspended for the third time at four o'clock in the morning. (Signed) Alexandre Beauharnais, *President;* Dauchy, Jacques, Menou, *ex-Presidents;* Mauriet, Grenot, Regnier, Le Carlier, Merle, Fricaud, *Secretaries.*

2. *Rapport du sieur Drouet* in *Relation du départ de Louis XVI.*, 139.

M. Drouet: Gentlemen, here is an account of the facts. My name is Drouet, postmaster at Sainte-Menehould, formerly dragoon in the regiment of Condé. My comrade's name is Guillaume, employee of the directorate of Sainte-Menehould, formerly dragoon in the regiment of the queen.

In the year 1791, June 21, at about a quarter after seven in the evening, an equipage of two carriages and eleven horses arrived at the post of Sainte-Menehould. I thought I recognized in one of the carriages the face of the queen, whom I had already seen. Noticing, thereupon, on the front seat a rather stout man, I was struck by his resemblance to the effigy of the king printed on a government note of fifty livres. The sudden arrival of a detachment of dragoons, which had succeeded a detachment of hussars, both of them destined to protect the passage of a treasure, as they told me, confirmed more and more my suspicions, especially when I saw the man whom I believed was the king speak with an air of animation and in a low voice to a courier who preceded the equipage. The eagerness of the couriers to have the horses harnessed, ordered in the morning by an aide de camp, M. Goguelat, added further to the evidence. However, fearing to be the author of a false alarm and being then alone, without chance to consult anybody—I have

the honor to remark to the assembly that my house is outside Sainte-Menehould—I allowed the carriage to depart. But, seeing at once the dragoons ready to mount to accompany it, I ran to the guard house; I had the drums beat to arms; the national guard opposed the departure of the dragoons, and, being by that time sufficiently convinced, I set out, accompanied by M. Guillaume, in pursuit of the king.

Arrived near Clermont, we were informed by the postilion who drove the king's carriage that the king had just passed there. Then we passed behind Clermont, and we gained by taking short cuts, so that we arrived at Varennes soon enough to catch the king before he had left. It was then eleven o'clock at night. It was very dark. The carriages were halted before the houses, and there was a dispute between the postilions and the conductors of the carriages. The postmaster of Clermont had forbidden his postilions to leave Varennes before the horses had been refreshed. The king, fearing he was pursued, wished to hasten his departure, and would listen to no talk of resting, so that while they disputed we hurried at once to the town and put our horses in a tavern we found open. I talked to the tavern keeper. I took him aside, because there were many persons there, and I did not wish to be heard. I said to him: "Comrade, are you a good patriot?" "Yes, make no mistake about that," he answered. "Very well, my friend; if that is so,

run quickly and inform all the honest people you know. Tell them the king is in the upper town in Varennes; that he is going to go down; that it is necessary to arrest him." Then he went out and spread the news. We, on our side, descended into the town, reflecting that we ought not to call to arms or sound the alarm before we had barricaded the streets and bridge by which the king would pass. Consequently we betook ourselves, my comrade and I, to the bridge of Varennes. Close to the bridge was a big cart loaded with furniture. We placed it across the bridge. Then we went and sought several other carts, so that the bridge was blocked to the point that it was impossible to pass. Then we rushed to the house of the mayor and the commandant of the national guards. Inside of ten minutes we had eight or ten trustworthy men, whose names I shall give in the proper time and place. We arrived just as the king was descending. Then the procureur of the commune and the commandant of the national guard approached the carriage and questioned the travelers as to who they were. The queen replied that they were in a great hurry; they requested earnestly to be allowed to pass. They [officers] were insistent; they said it was necessary to see if they were supplied with passports. They did, in fact, show a passport, saying, however, that was not especially necessary. She finally gave her passport to two ladies of honor, who descended and

came to the tavern to have it read. Here in a few words is the substance of the passport: "You will allow to pass the Duchesse, or Comtesse, or Baronne de Korff," etc. Those who heard it read or saw it said it was all right. We answered no, because it was signed only by the king, and that it should be signed by the president of the national assembly. I made various objections. "Ladies," I said to them, "if you are strangers, how have you had sufficient influence to have a detachment of fifty dragoons, who were at Sainte-Menehould, leave immediately after you? How, when you passed Clermont, did you have the same influence in causing the departure of the detachment which was at Clermont? Why, at the moment in which I am speaking, is there a detachment of hussars [here]?" After these observations it was decided they would not leave until morning. They got out and went up into the apartment.

3. *Extract from the register of the deliberations of the commune of Varennes.*

To-day, June 23, 1791, the municipality and the general council of the commune of Varennes assembled have deliberated and redacted the following *Procès-verbal*, to be addressed to the national assembly....

Tuesday, June 21st, at eleven o'clock at night, the procureur of the commune was suddenly informed by a courier of Sainte-Menehould that two car-

riages, which they had attempted in vain to stop at Clermont, were going to arrive at Varennes, and that he believed they carried a burden dear to all French hearts. These carriages having arrived, almost at that instant the procureur of the commune appeared and asked for the passports. One was presented to him signed *Montmorin*, and given in the name of the Baronne de Korff and her family going to Frankfort. The night was dark, and the citizens were already on foot. To defer to the public uneasiness, the procureur of the commune observed to these persons, still unknown, who were in the two carriages, that the excitement of the moment, the darkness of the night, and even their safety forbade that they should continue their route, and at the same time he invited them to enter his house. These persons were eleven in number, five of whom were in one carriage, two in another, and four on horseback escorting them.

Having dismounted at the house of the procureur of the commune, they declared that their intention was not to go to Frankfort, but to Montmédy; and as if French hearts habituated to cherish their king naturally divined him, at the demonstration of love and respect we showered upon him, he said: "Yes, I am the king. There are the queen and the royal family. I come to live among you, in the midst of my children, whom I do not abandon." All the persons, including the king, being visibly affected, the

monarch and his august family deigned to press in their arms all the citizens who were present in the apartment, and to receive from them the same marks of warm affection.

At this moment an individual calling himself the aide de camp of M. de Bouillé arrived and asked to speak to the king. Introduced by the procureur of the commune and interrogated by the king as to his name, he said, "I am Coglas." "Good!" said the king. "When do we leave?" "I await your orders, Sire." And the orders were given in concert with the procureur of the commune and this officer. The king meanwhile testified his eagerness to depart, and asked several times if the horses were ready. A crowd of citizens from all the neighboring towns had betaken themselves to Varennes in the interval; and at the news of the arrival of the king, carried rapidly into the most remote canton, all hurried toward him with all the joy, the eagerness, tender but at the same time uneasy and noisy, of a great family which comes to find its father and fears to lose him again.

The municipal officers had only to attract the attention of the king to this scene of sentiment and unrest to move the sensibility of his heart. They explained to him that, loved by the people, his throne was in all hearts, his name in all mouths, but that his residence was at Paris. To Paris he was called by the fearful and urgent desires of the provinces

even; that in this time of discord and alarm, the nation called for its chief, and the people for their father; that the safety of the state was dependent upon the achievement of the constitution, and the constitution itself upon his return; that, fortunate on account of his virtues, the French people wished to be more so on account of his personal happiness, and that his good and tender heart could find the assurance of it only in the enjoyment of it in common with them.

In the interval there arrived a detachment of the hussars of the regiment of Lauzun, falling back upon Varennes; and, we are glad to say it, these citizen-soldiers testified for their brothers in arms only the most peaceable and friendly dispositions. . . .

Upon the reiterated request of the king, the municipality was deliberating in general council, when two aides de camp of M. de Lafayette arrived, bearers of the decree of the national assembly, or rather of the wishes of entire France for the return of the monarch. All the citizens then, redoubling their pleas and supplications to the monarch, succeeded in moving him by the account of the sanguinary misfortunes of which his departure was going to be the signal, of the happiness of which his return would be the pledge and of the tribute of love with which Paris, the national assembly, all France would repay with enthusiasm this new act of love for his people. Yielding finally to these gentle and pressing emotions,

the king and the royal family consented to depart, and at about half past six in the morning, in the midst of public acclamations which are so pleasant to receive when they are at the same time the cry of liberty and of love, the king set out accompanied by a large crowd of citizens and of national guards destined much less to protect his march than to honor the triumph of his feelings. The municipal officers accompanied him as far as Clermont.

4. *Examination of Maldent.*

Thursday, July 7, 1791, in the morning.

Had brought from his prison M. Maldent, who said he was called Jean François Maldent, thirty-seven years of age, former body guard, born at Etain in Limousin, dwelling in the said Limousin, electing domicile in the clerk's office of the prison. . . .

What day, how, and by whom had he been instructed of the departure of the king, the queen, and the royal family?

He said by nobody. Observes that being in the court, Monday, June 21st last, at nine o'clock, or thereabout, as he had received orders to do from M. Dumoustier, a person he did not know came to tell him to go upstairs in the château. He followed this person. They shut him up in a cabinet or between two doors, where he remained until the departure of the king. He came himself to open the door and to tell him to follow him, which he did as far as a carriage. The king told him to get up behind. He

followed his orders as far as the Porte Saint-Martin, where the king changed to another carriage, behind which he mounted [remaining there], according to the order of the king, as far as Bondy. He took the post with the king. . . .

What hour was it when he left the château with the king?

Replied he could not tell the precise hour; that he knew only that it was after the *coucher* of the king. . . . There were sentinels at all the posts, as usual, and there were national guards walking about in the court when the king passed there with him. . . . The king wore a round hat, a coat over a suit which he believed was brown, overcoat of a green mixture, as far as he could remember, and he had no outward marks of distinction, such as he ordinarily wore. Added that the king carried a cane in his hand. . . . They had gone out in the darkness, he following the king, who guided him. [On leaving the château] he had gone to the Little Carrousel, where the king's carriage was. [In crossing the Court of the Princes] he said he had seen various national guards who were moving about without being able to say whether they were officers or not.

Was it he who opened the door when the king got into the carriage? He said no.

Who did open it? Said it was the coachman who was there.

Who was in the carriage? Said he did not see anybody in the carriage at that moment.

What kind of a carriage was it? Said he believed it was a very shabby, hired carriage.

Did they depart at once? He said yes, as soon as the king got into the carriage.

Did he know the people who accompanied the queen and Madame Elizabeth from the château? He said no.

Did they reach the carriage before the king? Said yes.

Was he alone behind the carriage? He said yes.

Were the dauphin, madame, the daughter of the king, and Madame de Tourzel in the carriage? He said yes.

How many horses were there to this carriage? Said there were two.

Who paid for this carriage when they took the one at the Porte Saint-Martin? Said nobody, and that they had left the carriage there, one of the horses having fallen into the ditch, and that the same coachman who had driven this carriage got upon the seat of the one the travelers had entered. Having made certain that everybody was in the carriage, he got up behind.

What is the name of the coachman? Said he did not know.

If from the Porte Saint-Martin they went directly to Bondy? Said yes.

Was it there they changed horses? Said yes. M. Valory had had the horses prepared to await the king.

Did they take post-horses there, and how many of them did they put to the king's carriage? Said they put six post-horses to the carriage. There were two couriers, one before, who was M. Valory, and one behind, who was himself. M. Dumoustier was on the seat of the carriage.

Where did M. Dumoustier join the carriage? Said that he was at the Porte Saint-Martin with the carriage which awaited the king on the seat of which he had mounted to go to Bondy.

Was M. Dumoustier by the side of the coachman? Said yes. . . .

How far did they go from Bondy before changing horses? He said they changed at all the posts, without being able to tell the name of the next post after Bondy, as he was not acquainted with this route.

At the post after Bondy, was there a carriage waiting? Said he could not tell whether it was at the post after Bondy or at another that they had met a chaise or cabriolet, in which were two ladies of the chamber whose names he did not know. . . .

Did they hurry in making the changes at each post? Said that M. Valory, who went ahead, was charged with the care of having the horses ready.

Did they travel at a high rate of speed on the road? Said no.

Did he know there was a passport, when did he know it, and in what names it was [made out]? Said the one who had given him orders said there was need of nothing, and he had not known whether there was a passport.

Had anybody orders to protect the passage? Said he knew nothing of that.

Were they stopped upon the way, and did they encounter anybody? Said they had not been stopped upon the way, and that they saw no one. . . .

Was asked who had stopped the carriage of the king, in what place it took place, and at what time? Said it was the national guard of Varennes, and that it took place between half past nine and ten o'clock in the evening. . . .

Was there much difficulty when the king's carriage was stopped, was there any resistance? Said there was no resistance at all; that a great noise had been made to stir the people up, and that the king said, showing his passport, that he did not intend to leave the kingdom, but was going to the place indicated by him. That he did not wish to remain in Paris at the present time for reasons known to himself; that he had made this remark when he was taken to the house of the procureur of the commune, and that, furthermore, they could take him where they pleased.

Did he know what the passport contained? Said he had not seen it. Was stated to him that hussars

and dragoons had presented themselves at the time of the arrest to protect the passage [of the king]. They did not lay down their arms until they had seen deployed a force strong enough to hold them in check. Said he had seen neither hussars nor dragoons at the time of the king's arrest; that after going up into the apartments of the procureur of the commune he had seen hussars, but a long time afterward.

5. Letter of the municipality [of Sainte-Menehould] to the president of the national assembly, June 21 [1791].

. . . Between seven and half past eight in the afternoon there passed through this city, going from west to east, two carriages. They were preceded by a courier and followed by another, both dressed in chamois-colored stuff, and they departed after having changed horses without imagining that anybody had suspected who was inside.

Hardly were the two carriages lost to sight than M. Drouet, postmaster, suspecting some mystery, believed he ought to inform the city government. We at once assembled in the common hall, and all the inhabitants armed themselves. Meanwhile the dragoons had remained quiet; but, the people having demanded the disarmament of the soldiers, we invited M. d'Andoins, who commanded them, to come to the city hall. Shortly after, we had been confirmed in our fears by an express sent to us by the

directorate of the department of the Marne. We had already charged M. Drouet, postmaster, and M. Guillaume, one of the inhabitants, to ride after the carriages and to have them stopped, if they could overtake them. It is two o'clock in the morning, and they have not yet returned.

6. *Procès-verbal* of the general assembly of the commune of Varennes, June 27, 1791.

The same day, the twenty-first, about a quarter after eleven at night, there arrived at the tavern Bras d'Or, M. Drouet, of the horse-post at Sainte-Menehould, accompanied by M. Guillaume, inhabitant of the same town, both on horses, and who, without stopping to get their breath, informed M. Blan, the tavern keeper, that two carriages were coming down behind them and were going to pass at once, and that they suspected that the king was in one. The tavern keeper, an officer of the national guard, ran to the house of M. Sauce, procureur of the commune, whom he aroused at once and told him what he came to announce. He then returned home, armed himself and his brother, and went on guard. The procureur of the commune notified the municipal officer who represents the mayor, deputy at the national assembly. Having met M. Regnier, a lawyer, who was equally informed, he begged him to go quickly and inform the other officers. The procureur of the commune, returning home, made his children get up, and told them to run into the

street and cry "Fire!" in order to give the alarm. He took a lantern and went to the passage. Meanwhile MM. Regnier and Drouet dragged up a loaded wagon and barred the bridge. It was at this moment that the carriages appeared. The two brothers Blan had stopped the first, which was a cabriolet, in which were two ladies. The procureur of the commune, having approached the carriage, asked for the passports; they replied to him that the second carriage had them. He went to that. This carriage was loaded in an extraordinary way, was drawn by six horses, with three riders on three of the horses, and three persons dressed in yellow on the seat. The two brothers Le Blan, together with MM. Regnier, Coquillard, Justin George, Pousin, all national guards, Thenevin des Ilettes, and Deslion de Monfaucon, who were lodged at the tavern Bras d'Or and armed, put on a firm and brave front. The procureur of the commune, going up to the door, asked the persons in the carriage where they were going and raised his lantern to look at them. They replied they were going to Frankfort. . . . The procureur of the commune, who had lodged these strangers in an upper chamber in the rear of his house, already well surrounded, ran to M. Detez, judge of the tribunal, that he might come down and see if it really was the king and his family. . . . He returned to his house with the said M. Detez and went up into the apartment where

the king, the queen, the dauphin, Madame Royal, Madame Elizabeth, and other persons of their suite were, and they were recognized by the said M. Detez.

7. Tourzel, La Duchesse de, *Mémoires*, I, 304–327.

We descended to the entresol of the queen, where the king had already come from his side [of the château]. Their majesties told me that they would be followed by three of the body guards, one of whom would give his arm to the queen to conduct her on foot to the carriage; that the two others would drive the traveling carriage, which was to wait for the king at some distance from the barrier (for all the royal family went out on foot, except the dauphin and madame). The carriages having arrived, the queen went herself to see if all were quiet in the court, and, seeing nobody, she embraced me, saying, "The king and I place in your hands, Madame, with the greatest confidence, all we hold most dear in the world. Everything is ready. Go!" We descended through the apartment of M. de Villequier, where there was no sentinel; we passed through a door that was seldom used and got into an old and dilapidated carriage, resembling much a fiacre, which was driven by the Comte de Fersen.

In order to give the king time to arrive we took a little drive on the quays and returned by way of the Rue Saint-Honoré, to await the royal family in front of the house then called the Hôtel de Gaillar-

bois. I waited three-quarters of an hour without seeing any member of the royal family arrive. M. de Fersen played perfectly the rôle of driver of a fiacre, whistling, gossiping with another driver who happened to be there, and taking snuff from his snuff box. I was upon thorns, although I did not allow my uneasiness to appear, when madame said to me, "There is M. de Lafayette." I hid the dauphin under my skirts, assuring both of them that they need not be frightened. I was, however. M. Bailly followed him at a short distance. They both passed and suspected nothing, and after three-quarters of an hour of anxiety I had the consolation of seeing Madame Elizabeth arrive. It was, however, the beginning of hope. It was half past eleven, and it was only after midnight that we saw the king arrive. MM. Bailly and Lafayette, who had come to the *coucher*, began to converse; and, to give no cause for suspicion, the prince did not wish to appear in a hurry to retire. It was necessary, after that, for the king to undress himself, get into bed, make a new toilet, put on a wig to disguise himself, and come on foot from the Tuileries to the carriage. The queen was to leave only after the king, and the extreme affection he felt for her showed itself vividly upon this occasion by the manner in which he expressed his uneasiness. As soon as she got into the carriage he took her in his arms, kissed her, and said to her, "How glad I am to see you here!" They

kissed each other. All the royal family did me the same honor, and, convinced that we had passed the obstacle the most difficult to surmount, we began to hope that Heaven would favor our journey.

The king told us that after having gotten rid of MM. Bailly and de Lafayette he went out alone through the great door of the Tuileries in great tranquillity, as he felt perfectly certain that by the precaution he had taken to have the Chevalier de Coigny, whose shape so perfectly resembled his own, go out by this same door, he had prepared the sentinels at this gate for two weeks to permit him to go out with entire security. So great was it that his shoe, having come unfastened, he refastened it without anybody paying attention to it, and he had not experienced the least trouble. . . .

M. de Fersen, fearing that the body guards might take another road than the one indicated to them, and that if he took the shorter we might have to repass the barrier to meet them, preferred to take the longest, which cost us a half hour, and this, added to the half hour more the *coucher* of the king had lasted, made us an hour and a half late. We found a wedding ceremony going on at the house of the official at the barrier, a crowd of people and lights at the doors; but, fortunately, we were not recognized, and passed without difficulty. To complete the bad luck, the horses of the king's carriage fell twice between Nintré [Chaintrix] and Châlons,

broke all the traces, and forced us to lose more than an hour in repairing the disaster. . . .

We found, at some distance from the barrier of Clichy, the carriage awaiting us, and we abandoned the old carriage and horses without caring what became of them. M. de Fersen drove the king's coach as far as Laye [Claye], where we took the post. The king, on leaving him, expressed his gratitude in the most affectionate manner, hoping that he would be able to prove it otherwise than in words, and flattering himself that he would see him again soon.

We traveled in a large and very comfortable coach, but which had nothing extraordinary about it, as has been repeated since. the sad outcome of this unhappy journey. I was supposed to be the mistress under the name of the Baronne de Korff; the king passed for my *valet de chambre*, the queen for my lady's maid, and Madame Elizabeth for the children's nurse. The Baronne de Korff, whose name I bore, had made a rapid journey from Paris to Montmédy, by the same route we took, in a carriage similar to our own, with the same number of persons, and nowhere had she been asked for her passport. The observation had been carried to the point of calculating how many hours she had taken to reach Montmédy, and the sad result of this last precaution will be seen.

When the barrier was passed, the king began to

augur well for the journey and to talk about his plans: "Here I am," said this good prince, "outside of this city of Paris, where I have swallowed so many bitter potions. You may be certain that once in the saddle, I shall be very different from what you have known me up to the present time." He then read to us the *Mémoire* he had left at Paris to be carried to the assembly, and he enjoyed by anticipation the happiness he might cause France to experience from the return of the princes, his brothers, and of his faithful servants, and from the possibility of re-establishing religion and repairing the ills which his forced sanctions had brought upon it [France]. Then, looking at his watch, which indicated eight o'clock, he said: "Lafayette is just now a very much disturbed gentleman!" It was hard to share the anxiety of the general and feel any other sentiment than that of joy at having shaken him off. . . . The farther we advanced on our way, the more we abandoned ourselves to hope. "When we shall have passed Châlons we shall have nothing more to fear," said the king. "At Pont-de-Sommevesle we shall find the first detachment of troops, and the success of our journey is assured. . . ."

Arrived at Pont-de-Sommevesle, what was our grief and uneasiness when the couriers reported to us that they had found no trace of the troop, nor any one who could tell them anything about it; that they did not dare to ask questions for fear they

might arouse suspicion; and we could only hope that at Orbeval, which was the next post, we would be more fortunate. But our happiness was at an end. Heaven, which wished to test to the extreme our august and unhappy sovereigns, permitted that the Duc de Choiseul should absolutely lose his head. The task was too great for him. . . . M. de Choiseul, on taking leave of the king, had given him an itinerary of the route as far as Pont-de-Sommevesle, where he was to find him at the head of the first detachment of troops charged to escort his majesty. Furnished with all the instructions necessary to arrive surely at the end of the journey, he had indicated where the king should be very careful not to be recognized, had calculated, as I have already said, the time it would take for the journey, and consequently when he ought to reach Pont-de-Sommevesle. But, unfortunately, he had made no allowance for accidents which might happen, and that was the cause of our destruction.

To avoid suspicion on the part of the troops, who had been placed by detachments from Pont-de-Sommevesle to Clermont, they had been told that they were destined to escort a treasure, the arrival of which had been delayed until Monday, the 21st. Some remarks made upon the delay of the arrival of the treasure disturbed M. de Choiseul, who, noting that it was already two hours beyond the time fixed for the king's arrival, decided that he had

changed his mind and that the plan had failed. He gave then, as I have been told, his cabriolet to Léonard, hair-dresser of the queen, whom he had brought from Paris with him, that he might inform the troops stationed along the route that the journey was abandoned, that the king had not appeared, enjoining him further to go as far as Montmédy to carry the same news. He then mounted his horse, saying to the detachment which was at Pont-de-Sommevesle that he had just received word that the treasure would not go through, and that he was going to Montmédy by the shortest route. . . .

We were no more fortunate at Orbeval than at Pont-de-Sommevesle. The same silence, the same uncertainty. We reached Sainte-Menehould in a violent agitation. It was still further augmented when M. d'Andoins, captain in the regiment of M. de Choiseul, approached the carriage for an instant and said very low: "The plan has miscarried. I am going to withdraw in order not to arouse suspicion." These few words pierced us to the heart; but there was nothing else to do than continue our journey, and no appearance of uncertainty was permitted.

As bad luck would have it, the infamous Drouet, son of the master of the post at Sainte-Menehould, a furious patriot, was at the door at that moment, and, having had the curiosity to look into the carriage, he thought he recognized the king, and made sure of it by comparing the face of that prince with some

paper money he had in his pocket. This unhappy man got a horse and followed the carriage of the king to Clermont; and, having heard that he was going to Varennes, he judged it would be easy to have him arrested by getting ahead and informing the authorities and the inhabitants, upon whom he could count, of the passage of his majesty.

We reached Clermont without any inconvenience, but on our arrival in that city Comte Charles de Damas, colonel of the dragoons of Monsieur, and who had left his post, in spite of the notice from the Duc de Choiseul, told us there was excitement in that region, and that he was going to attempt the impossible by trying to withdraw his regiment and escort his majesty's carriage. He did try it, in fact, but without success. The authorities joined with the inhabitants to prevent the regiment from leaving the village, and the troops refused to obey M. de Damas. He was tempted to move them by saying to them that he was going to escort the king and his family, but he did not dare to, fearing to meet with a refusal, the consequences of which would have been the arrest of the king. He contented himself with sending an officer post-haste to Varennes to inform MM. de Bouillé and de Raigecourt that the king was coming, but the fatality which accompanied all these attempts of the king to escape from his cruel situation decreed that this officer, who was not well acquainted with the road, took the

road to Verdun instead of that to Varennes, and did not get there in time to fulfil his mission. We saw on the heights of this last city a man who seemed to want to conceal himself. Our uneasiness increased. We believed we had been betrayed, and we drove on filled with trouble and sadness easier to imagine than to describe.

Our position was frightful. It became even more so when, on our arrival at Varennes, we found no fresh horses and no one who could tell us what had become of them. We knocked on a door; we endeavored to discover if they knew anything of the relay that should be waiting for us. We could learn nothing of the matter which interested us, and we attempted to follow the only course open to us by proposing to the postilions to double the distance, offering them money for it. They refused, saying their horses were too tired; we told them to take us to the nearest tavern in the town, to set out as soon as their horses should be rested. There was no longer any means of doing that, and the infamous Drouet had already executed his measures to prevent the passage of their majesties. He had barred the bridge over which it was necessary to pass on leaving the town by having overturned a wagon there loaded with furniture which happened to be at hand, and he had warned the national guard of the town and Sauce, procureur of the commune, of the arrival of the king and the necessity of stop-

ping him. He had, moreover, associated him with one named Mangin, an ardent patriot, who seconded him perfectly. He had drink given to the national guards and to the soldiers who were in the town, and he had the dragoons of the regiment of Monsieur, at Clermont, warned to oppose the demand of their colonel to protect the journey of the king.

Meanwhile the carriages rolled on, but as soon as that of the women, which preceded that of the king, passed in front of the house of Sauce, it was stopped, and they were obliged to dismount to have their passports viséed. It was then half past eleven at night. We were informed of what was going on by the body guards, but we had gone too far into the city to retreat, and we continued our route. A minute later, as we passed under an arcade which led to the bridge of Varennes, two individuals named Le Blan and Poucin stopped the carriage and threatened to fire upon it if the least resistance was made. I learned this last circumstance only after my arrival in Paris. I know only that the body guards offered to employ force to make a passage for the king, but that this prince refused to allow it. The passports were called for; but, although they were correct in form, and although the queen begged them to make haste as they were pressed for time, they made all sorts of excuses to give the patriots of the city and the environs time to assemble.

An officer approached the king's carriage and said

in a low tone that there was a ford, and offered to attempt to get him over it; but the king, who saw the number of those surrounding the carriage increase each minute, and noticed to what a point they were exasperated, fearing he did not have force enough, and that he might uselessly cause a massacre, did not dare to give the order. He simply told him to press M. de Bouillé to use every effort to rescue him from his critical position.

The alarm bells were rung in and around Varennes, and it was impossible to dissimulate the fact that we were recognized. For a long time the king would not acknowledge who he was nor leave the carriage; but the insistence became so pressing, coupled with the promise of letting us go if everything was correct after the examination of our passports, that there was no further way of avoiding it. The king entered into the house of Sauce, procureur of the commune, and went upstairs into a chamber, where they placed the children upon a bed that was there. Overcome by fatigue, they went to sleep at once. Their sleep was calm and tranquil, and the contrast of this situation with that of their unhappy parents was truly heartbreaking.

They were not yet quite sure at Varennes that it was the king and the royal family who were in the house of Sauce, but Mangin, who knew them, went up into the chamber to make sure of it, and declared positively that it was the king and his family,

and that there was no further room for doubt. This Mangin, a great patriot, and others like him, had hurried to all the neighboring villages and had assembled in less than an hour four thousand national guards, both of the town and the environs. The king, seeing that dissimulation was useless, declared that he was the king, that he had quit Paris to escape the daily insults they took pleasure in heaping upon him; that he did not intend to leave the kingdom, but that he wished only to go to Montmédy to be in a better position to keep an eye on the movements across the border; that if the authorities of Varennes doubted his word, he would consent to be accompanied by such persons as they might designate. The king and the queen employed all possible means to touch their hearts and to arouse the ancient love of the French for their king. They were hearts of bronze which fear alone could move. From time to time they were seized by the fear of the arrival of Bouillé, and then begged the king to protect them, and left it uncertain as to whether they would allow him to continue his journey; these dispositions changed as soon as they were given reasons for feeling safe. . . .

MM. Baillon [Bayon] and de Romeuf, the first commandant of a battalion of the national guard of Paris, and the second aide de camp of M. de Lafayette, arrived at Varennes between three and four o'clock in the morning. They were bearers of a

decree of the assembly which ordered the most prompt and active measures to protect the security of the person of the king, of the dauphin, of the royal family, of the persons by which they were accompanied, and to secure their return to Paris with the regard due to the royal majesty. This same decree named as commissioners of the assembly to execute these measures MM. Petion, Barnave, and de La Tour-Maubourg, giving them power to employ the national guards, the troops of the line, and the administrative bodies in the execution of their mission, requiring of them entire obedience to the commissioners in the execution of this decree. It enjoined, furthermore, the arrest of M. de Bouillé and the most absolute prohibition to any body of troops whatsoever to execute any of his orders, and named M. Dumas, adjutant of the army, to command the troops which should escort the king to Paris and to execute the orders he might receive from the commissioners.

When the queen saw the two bearers of the decree arrive, who had always posed as being entirely devoted to the royal family, she could not control her indignation, and reproached them with the contrast between their conduct and their daily protestations. She snatched the decree from their hands without wishing to listen to the reading of it, and would even have torn it up had the king not interfered; she contented herself with throwing it scornfully on the

floor. Romeuf, who still had a remnant of shame which made him blush at the rôle he was playing at the moment, remained silent. But Baillon [Bayon], who had in mind only the recompense he expected as the price of his mission, only sought to deceive the king: "Have a care," he said, "not to create a feeling of uneasiness by remaining too long in this town." And when the king objected that, as the children needed rest, he would remain some time, he replied, in a hypocritical tone: "Although your Majesty does not do me the justice to believe that I accepted the mission with which I am charged only with the hope of being useful to him, I am going to do all I can to induce this crowd to respect the sleep of the dauphin and madame." And he stirred them up, on the contrary, to hasten the departure of the king, by communicating to them his excessive fear of the danger they would run if M. de Bouillé succeeded in rescuing the king. The night passed very sadly, the king not daring to adopt the plan of employing force to escape from his cruel situation, and the officers, who would have obeyed at peril of their lives, not thinking they could take any decisive action without his authorization. It might have been successful when he was first arrested, but each instant added new difficulties. The effervescence augmented in proportion as the crowd increased in size, to which the most improbable news was reported in order to excite its terror and fury.

They did not cease to press the king to depart. The horses were put to the coach; the clamors redoubled and were excited by the fear of the arrival of M. de Bouillé. In vain the queen pointed to her sleeping children and urged the need they had of a little rest. They would not listen to reason, and from the chamber where the royal family was one heard this frightful populace demand with loud cries their departure.

After eight mortal hours of waiting at Varennes M. de Bouillé did not arrive, and we had no news from him. The king, seeing no possibility of escaping from the hands of this multitude, which visibly increased in numbers, did not believe he could put off his departure longer, and decided to return to Paris.

8. *Relation du voyage de Varennes, adressée par un prélat, membre de l'assemblée constituante, à un ministre en pays étranger;* in *Mémoires de Weber*, II, 62–151.

Finally, all the obstacles having been overcome and the preparations made, the night of the twentieth to the twenty-first of June, the king and the royal family, having supped as usual, retired about half past ten, as if they were going to bed. Shortly after they betook themselves to the apartments of Madame Royale, where Madame de Tourzel brought the young prince, and they prepared to leave by the chamber of which I have spoken, from which the

queen had secretly opened a door into the unoccupied apartment of M. le Duc de Villequier. The king, who was to pass for the *valet de chambre* of Madame de Korff, had a gray suit and a peruke which disguised him very well; the others were dressed very simply. I have heard it said, but I cannot recall by whom, that for several days before they had the Chevalier de Coigny go out at night by the gate of the court opening near the apartment of M. de Villequier. He had the same peruke and the same suit the king had at his departure; as his figure resembled very much that of the king, this could serve to prevent the king from being recognized in crossing the court on June 20th.

Madame Elizabeth went out first with Madame Royale, followed at a short distance by Madame de Tourzel leading the dauphin. One of the three body guards accompanied her. Either accidentally or purposely one of the sentinels of the court who in pacing his round crossed the path the two princesses would be obliged to take turned his back at the moment he was near them and was going to meet them. Madame Royale noticed it and said in a low tone to Madame Elizabeth, "Aunt, we have been recognized." Yet they got out of the court without being noticed and went, followed, as I have already said, by Madame de Tourzel, across the Petit Carrousel to the corner of the Rue de l'Echelle, where M. de Fersen awaited them with a

carriage. It was a livery carriage, resembling very much in form, and in the horses which drew it, what is called a *fiacre* in Paris. He had hired it in a remote quarter, and he himself served as coachman, dressed as coachmen of that class dress. He was so well disguised that while he waited, having in his carriage the two princesses, the dauphin and Madame de Tourzel, an empty fiacre having stopped near him, the coachman, who thought he was talking to one of his comrades, opened a conversation with him upon matters people of that class would talk about. It lasted quite a long time, and M. de Fersen did his part with great presence of mind, talking in the jargon of coachmen in order not to make his fellow driver suspicious. He got rid of him after having given him a pinch of snuff from a very shabby snuff-box he had. Shortly after that the king arrived accompanied by the second body guard. There was quite a long interval between his exit and that of the first group, but it was not less fortunate, although, one of the buckles of his shoe having broken, very close to the sentinel of the gate of the Carrousel, he was obliged to fix it almost under his eyes. The queen, who was to come out last, made them wait more than a half hour and rendered the travelers very uneasy. They had given her the third body guard to accompany her, and he gave her his arm. All went well up to the great gate of the Royal Court, but as they were about to leave it they saw

the carriage of M. de Lafayette coming with torches and his usual guards. He was going home and was crossing the Royal Court to reach the Pont Royal. The queen had a hat which covered her face. The night was very dark. She stood close to the wall to let the carriage of M. de Lafayette pass. After having escaped this danger she told the body guard to take her across to the Petit Carrousel to the corner of the Rue de l'Echelle—that is to say, two hundred feet from the place where she was. Her guide was even less acquainted with Paris than she was. It was too dangerous to ask the way so close to the door of the Tuileries. They turned by chance to the right, when they should have turned to the left, passed the wickets of the Louvre, crossed the Pont Royal, and wandered a long time along the quays and in the Rue de Bac. They were at last forced to ask their way. A sentinel on the bridge told them. They were obliged to retrace their steps, repass the wickets of the Louvre, cross the courts of the Tuileries to reach the Rue de l'Echelle. They finally got to the carriage without any other accident than the time lost, but that was a real one, for the value of each minute was incalculable.

All the illustrious caravan being united, they set out to join the carriage which awaited them beyond the barrier Saint-Martin. It was drawn by six horses with a postilion of M. de Fersen who was a stranger, not knowing a word of French and igno-

rant concerning whom he was going to conduct. M. de Fersen did not dare to drive his livery carriage by the shortest route because he did not know Paris well enough to run the risk of passing through the center of this immense city at night. He thought it safer to go down the Rue Saint-Honoré and to make the tour of the boulevards. He arrived safely at the rendezvous. All passed from the hired carriage into the traveling coach, the body guards mounting upon the seat or behind. M. de Fersen continued to serve as coachman, the first two horses being guided by his postilion. As to the hired carriage, it was left all harnessed in the highway, with nobody to watch it or take it back to its owner.

In less than two hours they reached Claye, which is the second post house on the route to Châlons, about six leagues from Paris. There one of the servants of M. de Fersen waited for him with a cabriolet and two horses to take him back to Paris. Although the carriage of the king was new, it was necessary to make some repairs at Claye, with further loss of time. It will be seen later what the consequence of of all these delays was. . . .

Meanwhile the king and the royal family continued their route toward Châlons without obstacle and without stopping even to eat, having brought in the carriage everything necessary for that. Their passports were called for nowhere, and there was no objection

to furnishing them horses. Thus they arrived at Châlons about four or five o'clock in the afternoon of the twenty-first. [There a man who thought he recognized the king reported the matter to the mayor, and suggested that the carriage be stopped. The mayor pointed out the consequences that would follow if he were mistaken, and the man, acknowledging that he might be wrong, decided to keep silent.] Escaped from this danger, the king had passed Châlons when, the carriage having stopped for a moment on the highway, an unknown person, clothed like a bourgeois, drew near, put his head in at the door next to Madame de Tourzel, and said quite loud: "Your plan has miscarried. You will be stopped." He went off at once without giving time to learn his name or who he was. . . .

Everything had been calculated to the minute in the journey of the king, and his passage at Pont-de-Sommevesle was set down for three o'clock in the afternoon. It was long past this hour, and not only had the king not passed, but one of the three couriers who ought always, in the arrangements agreed upon, to precede the carriage by two hours had not appeared. According to this circumstance, a delay of an hour in the appearance of the king represented a delay of three in the journey. Between five and six o'clock he was four or five hours late, and could not be expected before eight. MM. de Choiseul and Goguelat were not only very uneasy, but they

found themselves in a terrible position. The sight of these hussars, waiting so long at their post, had caused a crowd to gather at Pont-de-Sommevesle. The report went about that the arrival of a pretended treasure they were to escort was only a pretext. Châlons, which was below Pont-de-Sommevesle, sent national guards to inquire the cause of these detachments. Sainte-Menehould, which was above it, and where the excitement had increased since the previous evening, sent its deputation. There was talk of ringing the alarm bell to call in the country people, and already some bells had sounded their first note. MM. de Choiseul and Goguelat talked together in a low tone in the presence of the crowd which watched all their movements. Had the king, who had already once postponed his departure from Paris for twenty-four hours, postponed it again? Had he set out and been stopped on the way? In that case it was useless to incite a sedition to no purpose and cause the loss of a detachment. Was it possible he might still arrive that evening? In that case it would render his arrest certain, it would be a matter of giving him up instead of escorting him, to call together upon his route all the communes of the environs, summoned by the alarm bell and filled with a suspicion that would soon degenerate into fury. As the two leaders were struck by this idea a man in the crowd which surrounded their horses observed that that morn-

ing a diligence had passed which seemed very heavily loaded. Another replied that it carried a lot of money. M. de Choiseul picked up this remark and asked of the one who had just made it if he was sure of what he said. He replied in the affirmative. "Why did you not tell me that three hours ago?" replied M. de Choiseul. Then addressing M. de Goguelat, still in a loud voice, he said: "It is clear that the diligence has got ahead of us. The money we were to escort has passed. We have nothing more to do here." These words had a magical effect. The excitement died out, the alarm bell ceased, the crowd scattered. MM. de Choiseul and Goguelat withdrew peaceably from Pont-de-Sommevesle with their troops.

They went as slowly as possible, halting frequently in order to conserve all their chances to the last moment. Finally, having marched thus for a long time without being overtaken by the king's coach or by his courier, they did not doubt that the project had been at least put off till the next day. Then, fearing to renew the tumult excited the previous evening by their presence at Sainte-Menehould, knowing, furthermore, that this post and that of Clermont were sufficiently guarded, unless an extraordinary crisis arose, they decided to go around this city, instead of passing through it, and reach Varennes by the shortest road across the woods of Clermont. . . .

About an hour after the detachment of Pont-de-Sommevesle had set out, the coach of the king arrived there almost at the same time as his courier, who along the entire route did not precede him more than five minutes; a capital fault. The king changed horses peaceably and reached Sainte-Menehould. The courier, generally too late, arrived too soon in this last town. For during the five minutes he was there before the king he blundered about the location of the post, was obliged to retrace his steps into the town, to question on this side and that to find his way, and excited public attention, already too wide awake. The people of Sainte-Menehould were in a bad humor. [The presence of the dragoons, the fact that they saluted the king's carriage as it passed, and the queen returned the salute "with her usual air of grace and kindness," aroused their suspicions.] A few moments more and the king would have had difficulty in getting out of the town. But the presence of the dragoons still had a restraining influence; the horses were changed; the carriage departed.

It was while it stopped that the king, putting his head out of the door too frequently, was noticed by the son of the postmaster, a very warm patriot named Drouet. This Drouet had seen the king at the federation the preceding year. To satisfy himself that he was not mistaken, he took a piece of paper money bearing a very good portrait of the king and

compared it for some time with the face he had before his eyes. The attention he was giving the matter was so marked that it attracted the notice of the queen and redoubled her uneasiness. It was a quarter to eight.

However certain Drouet was that the king was in the carriage, he did not dare to give the alarm at Sainte-Menehould, either on account of the fear of the dragoons or because the departure of the coach prevented it. But he made up his mind to follow it, to have it stopped when he should find it possible. He communicated his discovery and his resolution to his wife, who said and did all she could do to dissuade him, but in vain. He mounted his horse and followed the coach. . . .

At a certain distance from Clermont, where the road divides into two, one of which leads to Verdun and the other to Varennes, the king gave the order to take the second. He had been gone some time when Drouet arrived at the same place. Not doubting that the king was going to Verdun, he took without hesitation the road which goes there. Probably he would not have noticed his mistake in time if he had not encountered by accident a postilion who was returning from conducting a courier to Verdun. He asked him if he had not seen a coach with six horses going to Verdun, and if it was far ahead. Upon the reply of the postilion that he had seen nothing, he did not doubt that it had taken

the road to Varennes and he must endeavor to arrive there before it. Instead of retracing his steps he took a cross-road which led very directly to Varennes, and he rode so rapidly he arrived there before the king. . . . The king arrived at about eleven o'clock at night. The house where the post horses were to be had been so well described to him that he found it easily. He knocked on the door and asked for his horses. They could give him no information about them. Seeing nobody who could give him any information, he entered the upper city and got out with the queen. She knocked at several doors on the pretext of asking information about the relay, but in reality to see if by accident she might not encounter some of the people who were to meet her at Varennes. All her investigations were in vain. No one of those employed in this little town had thought of having somebody on the side by which the king would enter in order to inform him. Their majesties, after having walked about in the upper city for some time, proposed to the postilions to go on. They objected on the ground that their horses were worn out and could not go farther without food and rest. After this discussion, which lasted some time, the king succeeded in getting them to consent to take him to the other side of the bridge. He got into the coach with the queen.

Meanwhile Drouet, who reached Varennes a little before the carriage, had not lost a moment in put-

ting obstacles in the way of their passage. His first care had been to instruct the procureur of the commune, named Sauce, and to induce him to have the king stopped. He had no difficulty in persuading him. This Sauce was a kind of revolutionary fanatic, but was not lacking in ability. He sent at once orders to assemble the national guard of Varennes and to surround the convent of the Cordeliers where the sixty hussars were. He sent at the same time emissaries to notify the towns and villages round about, in order to bring the national guards of these places to Varennes, and despatched couriers to Verdun and Sedan for the same purpose.

Meanwhile Drouet, aided by two or three determined men, one of whom was named Billaud, the same who was so well known later for his fury in the convention, overturned heavy wagons to bar the bridge and thus place an invincible obstacle in the way of the passage of the king if he attempted to force it. That done, he and his comrades, well armed, placed themselves in ambuscade under an archway by which it was necessary to pass before reaching the bridge and in a place most suitable for stopping the coach. All these steps were taken in such profound silence that neither the hussars nor their officers nor the persons sent by M. de Bouillé knew anything about it.

When the carriage was under the archway it was stopped by Drouet and his people on the pretext

of having the passports of the travelers viséed by the municipality of Varennes and of having their persons identified. Drouet did not let a word escape him which could let it be known that it was the king; two loaded muskets were crossed at each of the doors of the coach. Drouet enjoined the travelers very brutally to go to the procureur of the commune, whose house was near by. It is even said that he laid hands on the king. His majesty believed that all resistance was useless, and, hoping still that he was not or would not be recognized, or at least could be rescued by force from the danger in which he and his family found themselves, he consented to follow Drouet. Sauce had the air of taking them for simple travelers, asked for their passports, and appeared to find them perfectly regular. He then said to them that their horses could not go farther without food, but as that would take some time, he begged them to rest themselves in his house, where they would be more comfortable than in the coach. There was no way of escape. All the family were received in a room on the ground floor, through the door of which they could see everything passing in the street. It was there the queen placed herself. It did not take her long to discover that each minute the crowd was increasing outside and that the house was invested. She no longer doubted, then, that they had been arrested and recognized. . . . When Sauce felt sure that the national guards were numer-

ous enough not to let their prey escape he raised the mask and said aloud to the king that he knew who he was. He reproached him very bitterly for his flight, against his word, he said, to go into a foreign country and to make war upon his people. He then declared he arrested him in the name of the nation, and that he was going to have him conducted to Paris under a strong guard. The king sought at first to deny that he was king, which led to an altercation in which Sauce and those with him overstepped more and more the bounds of respect. The queen then approached and put an end to it, saying in a firm tone, "If you recognize him as your king, speak to him with the respect which is due him." . . .

It was only then that the aide de camp, Romeuf, reached Varennes, at six in the morning, consequently seven hours after the arrest of the king. He entered the town, passing between two rows of national guards drawn up on both sides of the road and which extended each minute on account of the arrival of new reinforcements. At Sauce's door he found the coach with six horses harnessed to it, turned toward the Avenue de Paris and surrounded by an escort which was to conduct the prisoner monarch. Entering the house with shame and grief, he placed in the hands of Sauce the decree of the national assembly. . . . [Romeuf tried to justify his conduct and to defend Lafayette, saying that he

was not the enemy of the king and his family.] "He is," said the queen; "he has in his head only his United States and the American republic. He will see what a French republic is. Well, sir," she continued, "show me this decree of which you are the bearer." Romeuf gave her a copy of it. "The insolent [creatures]," said the queen, while reading it; and without having read to the end she cast it from her. The paper fell on the bed where the dauphin and his sister were sleeping. The queen snatched it up and threw it on the floor, saying, "It would soil the bed of my children."

APPENDIX

I

DEFINITIONS

A. *History* is the science of the unique evolution of man in his activities as a social being.

B. *Historical sources* are the results of man's social activities. They are subdivided into *remains* and *traditions*. Remains are the material products of man's activities—weapons, instruments, food, clothing, buildings, etc.—fitted because of their origin to be used as evidence concerning man's social past, but not intended for such use at the time of their origin. Tradition is the record by an eye or ear witness of what he has seen or heard. It may take an oral, a written, or a pictorial form. The record does not contain the fact, but the affirmation of the witness concerning what he believed the fact to be. Between every historical fact and every tradition stands at least one human brain. How far the affirmation differs from the fact depends upon the character of the brain through which it has passed.

C. *An affirmation* is a statement by a single source concerning a fact. It may be true, it may be false.

D. *A fact* is established by the agreement of two or more independent sources, provided the witnesses are not self-deceived.

E. *Historical method* is the system of rules and artifices employed by the historian in his attempt to trace the unique evolution of man in his activities as a social being by a study of the sources.

II

OUTLINE OF HISTORICAL METHOD

A. Choice of a Subject for Investigation.
   1. Choose a subject that has not been investigated; or
   2. That needs to be investigated anew because of
      a. The discovery of new sources; or because
      b. The old construction was uncritical; or because of
      c. The possibility of a new grouping of the facts.

B. The Material.
   1. Bibliography.
      a. Sources.
         (1) Printed.
         (2) Manuscript.
      b. Secondary works based on sources.
   2. Classification of the sources.
      a. Remains.
      b. Tradition.
         (1) Oral.
         (2) Written.
         (3) Pictorial.

C. The Reconstruction of the Past from the Sources.
   1. Reading secondary works and sources.
   2. Establishment of the facts.
      a. Criticism of the sources.
         (1) Proof of genuineness.

(2) Localization.
(a) Who was the writer?
(b) When was the source written?
(c) Where was it written?
(3) Evaluation of the sources.
(4) Proof that the sources are independent.
b. Comparison of affirmations to establish facts.
(1) Gathering affirmations on same fact.
(2) Interpreting and comparing independent affirmations to determine what the fact is.
3. Synthesis. Outline or grouping of the facts.
4. Exposition or narrative based on outline.
a. The text.
b. The notes.

III

ILLUSTRATION OF THE APPLICATION OF METHOD

A. The subject selected for investigation is "The Oath of the Tennis Court," one of the most important events of the early French revolution, and calling for investigation on all three of the grounds given in the outline of method.

B. The sources for the study are given in the critical bibliography. Although comprising more material than has ever yet been used by any writer on this subject, it is not exhaustive. More material could doubtless be found in the manuscript letters of deputies, preserved in departmental and city archives in France, and in the manuscript letters of the Austrian, Saxon, Prussian, Neapolitan and Spanish ambassadors preserved in the archives of the respective countries. Something could

probably be found also in pamphlets and in the Paris letter of the foreign newspaper, the *Gazette de Leyde*. An examination of London papers might bring to light letters from Paris correspondents. The sources in our collection are wholly written tradition and twelve in number: one is an official document—*Procès-verbal;* two are daily papers; four are letters—two by members of the assembly and two by ambassadors; one is a journal or diary; two are *Mémoires;* and two are contemporary histories. All were written by men who were in Paris or Versailles on June 20, 1789.

C. 1. *Reading secondary works and sources.*

A general conception of the whole topic can be obtained by reading the sources, one after another, taking notes upon them, and by reading one or more secondary accounts. The secondary accounts may be read first. As but little has been written in English on the subject, little time need be given to the secondary works. *The Cambridge Modern History* (VIII, 155) contains the following account of the event we are studying: "He [Louis XVI.] resolved to hold a "royal session" and to command the estates to lose no further time in controversy. For this purpose preparations in the *Salle des Menus Plaisirs* were needful, and the sittings of the assembly would have to be interrupted. But instead of giving formal notice to Bailly as president, the ministers, with discourteous folly, sent the workmen into the hall on June 20th and caused placards to be posted announcing the 22d as the day of the royal session. Only at the last moment did De Brézé, Grand Master of the Ceremonies, inform Bailly by letter that he was about to proclaim the royal session by the voice of heralds. Bailly took no heed, but went with the deputies to their accustomed hall, and, finding the doors shut, adjourned with them to

a neighboring tennis court. There the deputies, incensed at the discourtesy with which they had been treated, and suspecting a revolution on the part of the government to interrupt their sittings or even to dissolve their assembly, acclaimed Mounier's proposal that they should take a solemn oath not to separate until the constitution had been established. Only a single deputy, a certain Martin of Auch, refused to swear; and the Oath of the Tennis Court became one of the most memorable incidents of the French Revolution."

2. *Establishment of the facts.*

a. *Criticism of the sources.* Each source should be criticized. Let the *Procès-verbal* serve as an example:

(1) *Genuineness.* The original manuscript of the *Procès-verbal*, in the handwriting of the secretary Camus, is in the national archives in Paris.

(2) *Localization.* (a) *Writer.* The *Procès-verbal* was written by Camus, one of the secretaries of the assembly, an eye-witness whose business it was to take notes on the spot and give a faithful account of what took place. (b) *Time of writing.* The first part was written before 10.30 on the morning of June 20th. The proof is found in the statement on page 21, lines 15–18: "The president gave an account of the facts recorded in the minutes of this day and had the minutes read." The minutes must have been written at the time, otherwise they could not have been read. The second part must have been completed after the adjournment at six o'clock. (c) *Where written.* This first part, probably in the tennis court, as on page 19, lines 18–21, of the *Procès-verbal*, is the statement that "the president and the two secretaries having gone out, they betook themselves to the tennis court in Tennis Court Street, where the members of the assembly successively gathered," and this must have been written

after they reached the tennis court. The part preceding that may have been written before going there, but it is not probable. See what Bailly says, page 40, line 3, and page 42, lines 1–4. The second *Procès-verbal* for the 20th was, doubtless, written in the same place.

(3) *Evaluation of the source.* The source is valuable as a whole because: (a) it is the official minutes of the assembly; (b) the writer was the secretary, Camus, a man of good natural ability and training: and (c) it was written where the events occurred and at the time of the occurrence.

(4) *Independence.* A comparison of the text of the *Procès-verbal* with that of the *Point du jour* and of the *Mémoires* of Bailly will show that the account of the *Point du jour* has, with some exceptions, the same facts in the same order and generally in the same language, and that this is also true of a part of Bailly's account. Compare the text of the *Procès-verbal* and the *Point du jour* line by line, writing down the passages found in the same form, or nearly the same form, in both. Do the same thing for the *Procès-verbal* and Bailly. Here are clear examples of dependence. Which is the original and which the copies? We can dispose of Bailly at once. He did not write until 1792; the *Procès-verbal* could not have copied his *Mémoires*, hence he must have copied the *Procès-verbal*. It must be remembered, however, that, although Bailly copied portions of the *Procès-verbal*, he was president of the assembly and an eye-witness, and his account contains matter not found in the other sources, probably drawn from memory. The *Point du jour* must have copied the *Procès-verbal*, for the *Procès-verbal* was in print and accessible to the public on June 21st (see page 29, line 9, "Finally the printing of the minutes and the decree of this day was ordered, that they might be made public the next day"), and the *Point du*

jour was not in print before June 22d (see page 29, line 12, at the end of the *Point du jour*, "Yesterday, Sunday, no session." Sunday was the 21st, hence Monday, the day on which the *Point du jour* was written, must have been the 22d). The *Procès-verbal*, then, is independent of the other sources, but portions of the *Point du jour* and of the *Mémoires* of Bailly are drawn from the *Procès-verbal*, although Bailly and Barère are witnesses and report matter not found in the *Procès-verbal*. It should be noted, further, that Young and the Bailli de Virieu were probably not in Versailles on June 20th, and simply repeated what they learned in Paris. All the other seven were in Versailles, and all except Lehodey, editor of the *Assemblée nationale*, were members of the assembly.

b. *Comparison of affirmations.*

(1) *Gathering affirmations.* As an illustration of the gathering of affirmations let us take the episode of the closing of the hall on the morning of June 20th and the guarding of it by soldiers. How many of the sources mention this episode, and what do they say? There are nine of them, and they say:

Procès-verbal (page 18, lines 3–7), "At nine o'clock in the morning . . . they found it guarded by soldiers."

Point du jour (page 23, lines 21–27), "At a very early hour . . . but the military force already prohibited entrance."

Assemblée nationale (page 29, line 14; page 30, line 4), "They were on their way . . . at the hour indicated. . . . The deputies found there French guards."

Bailly, *Mémoires* (page 37, line 21), "I was informed that it was surrounded by French guards."

Duquesnoy, *Journal* (page 49, line 15), "Yesterday . . . he found it guarded by soldiers."

Young, *Travels in France* (page 53, line 4), "The French guards were placed with bayonets."

Mounier, *Recherches* (page 56, lines 4, 10), "Repulsed by armed men . . . closed by military force."

Rabaut, *Précis* (page 60, line 14), "The doors closed and guarded by soldiers."

Bailli de Virieu, *Correspondance* (page 62, line 2), "The door of the hall of the estates barred by French and Swiss guards."

(2) *Interpreting and comparing affirmations.* Keeping in mind how many of these affirmations were made by eye-witnesses, and how many of them by independent witnesses, we compare them to determine what the facts were with the following results:

(a) *The hall was guarded by troops.* This is affirmed by all the seven witnesses and by the two—Young and Virieu—who evidently reported what they had heard. Three, at least, of the sources—*Procès-verbal*, *Assemblée nationale*, and Duquesnoy—are independent, and the others are probably drawing upon their memories. This gives us certainty.

(b) *The troops were French guards.* This is affirmed by the *Assemblée nationale*, Bailly, Young, and Virieu; the first two witnesses, the last two probably not in Versailles at the time. There is no indication that Bailly was dependent upon the *Assemblée nationale* at this point, and it is highly probable that Young and Virieu, moving in different circles, would draw their information from different sources, none of which, it is probable, was Bailly or the *Assemblée nationale.* The balance here trembles uncertainly between high probability and certainty, inclining toward certainty.

(c) *Some of the guards were Swiss*, affirmed by Virieu, who was not a witness. It may be true that there were Swiss guards in Versailles, but we can only say "it is probable that some of the guards were Swiss."

(d) *No statement as to numbers.*

(e) *Hall probably guarded by troops before eight in the morning.* Four of the sources make affirmations concerning the time when the troops were in position before the hall. The *Procès-verbal* affirms they were there when the president and deputies arrived at nine o'clock; the *Point du jour* states that it was "a very early hour," evidently earlier than nine; the *Assemblée nationale* asserts that the deputies "on their way . . . at the hour indicated," found the troops at the hall, or as early as eight, the hour indicated the day before; Bailly (page 37, lines 13–23) says he learned at half past six that the hall was closed, and having sent a messenger to the hall, he was told, on his return, probably half an hour later—Bailly lodged about ten minutes walk from the hall—that the hall "was surrounded by French guards." In addition to these affirmations, which point to an hour as early as seven o'clock, at least, it should be remembered that the assembly adjourned the day before to meet at eight on the 20th. This fact would be known to the government, and it would certainly get its troops to the hall before the deputies got there—that is, some time before eight. Here is another case of high degree of probability without absolute certainty.

(f) *The hall was closed to the public and deputies*, affirmed or implied by all the witnesses and by Young and Virieu.

3. *Grouping the facts. Synthesis.*

I. Deputies excluded from their hall.

A. Hall closed.	*Point du jour*, 23, 27; Mounier, 56, 10; Rabaut, 60, 14; Virieu, 62, 2.
B. Guarded by troops.	*Procès-verbal*, 18, 7; *Point du jour*, 23, 27; *Assemblée nationale*, 30, 4; Bailly, 37, 21; Duquesnoy, 49, 15; Young, 53, 4; Mounier, 56, 4; Rabaut, 60, 14; Virieu, 62, 2.

1. No statement of number.	
2. French guards.	*Assemblée nationale*, 30, 4; Bailly, 37, 21; Young, 53, 4; Virieu, 62, 2.
3. Swiss guards.	Virieu, 62, 2.
C. Troops in position before eight in the morning.	
1. In position early.	Bailly, 37, 13–22; *Point du jour*, 23, 21.
2. Before eight.	*Assemblée nationale*, 29, 14; Bailly, 37, 13–23.
3. Probably as early as seven.	Bailly, 37, 13–23; *Point du jour*, 23, 21.

4. *Exposition.* The exposition expresses in connected narrative what has already been displayed in the outline. It differs from pure literature in two ways: (1) It must always reflect the value of the evidence and (2) it must be accompanied by notes containing references to the sources and discussions of critical points in the evidence. Better results have been obtained by developing the study episode by episode than by writing the narrative only after the whole outline has been made. Unity and continuity can be obtained by keeping the growing outline constantly in view and by rereading the parts of the exposition already written before adding to them. After the entire subject has been written up chronologically, it should be copied. This gives an opportunity for improvement in form, when the pupil has the whole subject before him and is thoroughly familiar with the matter.

In the following paragraph is an example of exposition, showing (1) the distinction that should be made between certainty and probability—making the text "reflect the value of the evidence"; (2) the position of the figures in the text referring to notes; (3) the arrangement of the notes on the page facing the narrative; and (4) the discussion of the evidence in the notes. It is wise to leave the back of these sheets blank.

NOTES

NOTES

1. *Point du jour*, 23, 27; Mounier, 56, 10; Rabaut, 60, 14; Virieu, 62, 2; implied by the other witnesses.

2. *Procès-verbal*, 18, 7; *Point du jour*, 23, 27; *Assemblée nationale*, 30, 4; Bailly, 37, 21; Duquesnoy, 49, 15; Young, 53, 4; Mounier, 56, 4; Rabaut, 60, 14; Virieu, 62, 2. The *Procès-verbal*, *Assemblée nationale*, and Duquesnoy are independent.

3. *Assemblée nationale*, 30, 4; Bailly, 37, 21; Young, 53, 4; Virieu, 62, 2. Bailly and the *Assemblée nationale* are evidently independent here.

4. Virieu, 62, 2.

5. Bailly, 37, 13–22; *Point du jour*, 23, 21. Evidently independent on this point.

6. *Assemblée nationale*, 29, 14; Bailly, 37, 13–23. Independent here.

7. *Procès-verbal*, 18, 20; Bailly, 39, 7. The *Procès-verbal* of the 19th and Bailly's note of the morning of the 20th, copied by Bailly from the *Procès-verbal* of the 20th, are independent.

8. Bailly, 37, 13–23. If Bailly's memory is to be trusted, he knew at about seven o'clock that there were troops at the hall. It should be remembered that the assembly adjourned the day before to meet at eight on the 20th. This fact would be known to the government, and it would certainly get its troops to the hall "at an early hour," some time before the deputies arrived.

Appendix

EXPOSITION

On the morning of June 20th the hall of the estates was closed to the public and to the deputies.[1] The entrance was guarded by troops[2] composed of French[3] and, probably, some Swiss guards.[4] How large a body of troops was employed it is impossible to state. They were evidently in position early in the morning,[5] before eight o'clock,[6] the hour when the assembly was to open,[7] and probably as early as seven.[8]

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